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# ORIGINAL SANSKRIT TEXTS

ON THE

## ORIGIN AND PROGRESS

OF THE

# RELIGION AND INSTITUTIONS OF INDIA;

COLLECTED, TRANSLATED INTO ENGLISH,

AND ILLUSTRATED BY NOTES.

CHIEFLY

FOR THE USE OF STUDENTS AND OTHERS IN INDIA.

BY

J. MUIR, ESQ., D.C.L.,

LATE OF THE BENGAL CIVIL SERVICE.

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## PART FIRST.

THE MYTHICAL AND LEGENDARY ACCOUNTS OF CASTE.

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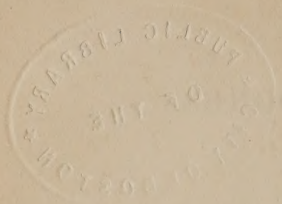

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# PREFACE.

I HAVE been careful to acknowledge, in the text and notes of the following work, the assistance which I have derived from the labours of the various authors who have lately written on Indian antiquity. It will be proper, however, to state specifically, at the outset, the names of those scholars to whom I am so largely indebted.

It will be seen at once that my greatest obligations are due to Professor H. H. Wilson, whose translation of the Vishnu Purana (London, 1840), with abundant and valuable notes derived chiefly from the other Puranas, was almost indispensable to the successful completion of such an attempt as the present. I have also derived great assistance from M. Langlois's French Version of the Harivanśa (Paris and London, 1834, 1835), and from M. Burnouf's French translation of the First Nine Books of the Bhāgavata Purana (Paris, 1840–1847), which have opened up an easy access to the contents of the original works. Prof. C. Lassen's Indische Alterthumskunde (Bonn, 1847–1852; and Leipzig, 1857); Prof. Rudolph Roth's Dissertations on the Veda (Zur Litteratur und Geschichte des Weda, Drei Abhandlungen; Stuttgart, 1846), and his article

entitled "Brahma und die Brahmanen" in the Zeitschrift der Morgenländischen Gesellschaft for 1847; Prof. Weber's minute researches in his Indische Studien (Berlin, 1849–1857); Böhtlingk and Roth's Sanskrit and German Thesaurus (Sanskrit Wörterbuch, herausgegeben von der Kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften, bearbeitet von Otto Böhtlingk und Rudolph Roth; St. Petersburg, 1852–1857), as far as the Sanskrit letter G; Prof. Benfey's Glossary in his edition of the Sāma Veda (Leipzig, 1848); and various publications of Prof. Max Müller (as his "Last Results of the Persian and Sanskrit Researches" in Vol. I. of Bunsen's Outlines of the Philosophy of Universal History; London, 1854: and his paper "Die Todtenbestattung bei den Brahmanen" in the Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft for 1855);—have also supplied me with numerous materials.

My own researches have, however, enabled me to collect a good many texts which I had not found elsewhere adduced.

The following published editions of Sanskrit authors have furnished the texts of those quotations which I have drawn from their respective works:

1. Prof. M. Müller's edition of the Rig Veda, with Sāyaṇa's Commentary, embracing the first six Mandalas and nineteen hymns of the seventh. (London, 1849–1856.)

2. Prof. A. Weber's edition of the Vājasanēyi Sanhitā of the Yajur Veda, of the Śatapatha Brāhmana, and of the commencement of the Kātīya Sūtras. (Berlin and London, 1852–1857.)

3. Roth and Whitney's edition of the Atharva Veda. (Berlin, 1855, 1856.)
4. Dr. Roer's edition of the Taittirīya Brāhmana and of the Upanishads in the Bibliotheca Indica. (Calcutta, 1849–1855.)
5. The Calcutta printed edition of the Mahābhārata, including the Harivanśa, in 4 vols, with indices. (Calcutta, 1834–1839.)
6. M. E. Burnouf's text of the first nine books of the Bhāgavata Purana. (Paris, 1840–1847.)
7. The Bombay lithographed edition of the same Purana, containing the whole work, with the Commentary of Śrīdhara Swāmin. (Bombay, Śaka, 1775.)
8. The Rev. Professor Krishna Mohan Banerjea's edition of part of the Mārkaṇḍēya Purāna in the Bibliotheca Indica, Nos. 114 and 127. (Calcutta.)

The texts which I have quoted from the Vishnu Purana have been extracted from a tolerable MS. belonging to myself, which was partially corrected by a Pundit of the Benares Government College. The passages from the Vayu Purana have been derived from a copy I made from MSS. in the East India House, compared with another copy exhibiting the various readings of the E. I. House MSS., which Professor Goldstücker has been good enough to make over to me.

Any passages cited from hymns of the Rig Veda subsequent to the 19th of the seventh Mandala have been taken from a MS. copy which I procured from Professor M. Müller.

I have generally rendered at full length the texts

which I have quoted; though sometimes, when of considerable extent, they have been somewhat condensed in the translation. There are not a few passages in which I have not been able to satisfy myself of the sense of particular Sanskrit words or phrases; and in such cases I have generally indicated my uncertainty by inserting a mark of interrogation [?]. The difficulties attendant on rendering the Vedic hymns are fully stated by Prof. Wilson in the Introduction to the Second Volume of his translation of the Rig Veda, pp. xix–xxix; and by Prof. M. Müller in his Last Results of the Sanskrit Researches, pp. 137–139 (in Bunsen's Outlines of the Phil. of Un. History, Vol. I). This will explain why so many alternative translations of these hymns are offered in the following pages.

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# ORIGINAL SANSKRIT TEXTS.

## PLAN OF THE WORK.

THE object which I propose in the present work, is to form a collection of passages relating to the origin, progress, and character of the religion and institutions of India, which are scattered throughout the Sanskrit authors, to arrange them in an order suitable to my purpose, to translate them into English, and to connect, compare, and illustrate them by critical and explanatory remarks, or by dissertations of greater length. The book makes little pretension to a scientific character, or to originality of research. Its object is popular utility; and it will be made up in great part of materials which the labours of others have furnished, but which I have sought to bring together from a variety of quarters, and to place within the reach of many to whom they might otherwise have remained inaccessible.

This collection is mainly intended for the use of those Hindus who wish to become critically acquainted with the foundation on which their ancestral religion reposes; and of other persons who are either concerned in the education of Indian youth, or whose business it may be to inculcate true conclusions in regard to the various subjects which will be here brought under examination.

It is not essential to the end which I have in view that this collection should assume a very systematic form; i. e. that all the various materials relating, in different ways, to the same general subject should be exhibited in connexion in one place. It will

suffice for practical purposes if the texts which bear upon each separate portion of the same subject are digested in proper order. This remark is applicable to the First Part of the work now offered to the public, which consists of an assemblage of passages declaring the views of Indian writers on the origin of caste, and leaves unattempted, for the present, any detailed explanation of the real rise, and progressive formation, of that system.

This First Part, then, brings together texts from the Vedic hymns, Brāhmănas, and Upănĭshădş, as well as from the Pŭrāṇas and Itĭhāsas, (the Rāmāyăṇa and Măhābhārăta,) relating, *first*, to the general cosmogonic theory of the origin of castes maintained by the native authors; *secondly*, to the accounts which they give of the formation of the caste-system, when, in the course of their legendary histories, they connect it with any particular persons as its founders; *thirdly*, to the notices which we find in the Purānas and Itihāsas, of struggles between the Brahmans and Kshatriyas regarding their respective functions and prerogatives; *fourthly*, to the opinions which the Puraṇic writers express on the origin of the rest of the human race, living without the pale of the Indian institutions, but conceived of as adjacent to Hindustan, and their relations to the Hindus; *fifthly*, to the descriptions, altogether of a fabulous character, contained in the same works, of the remoter regions of the earth and their inhabitants.

The object of this First Part of my work is, thus, merely to exhibit, compare, and criticize the views of the Indian writers themselves on the subject of caste, and some cognate topics;—leaving for future consideration the real origin and history of the Indian people, their religion, and their institutions, so far as we are enabled to trace them by the aid of the exact researches of recent times.

Before the object last indicated can be attempted with much prospect of convincing persons imbued with the notions popularly current among the modern Hindus, it will be necessary to lay a foundation in some preliminary investigations, which may serve to awaken in their minds a proper historical sense, and a just

conception of their own relation to the other portions of the civilized world. It will be necessary to prove by the results of comparative philology, by reviewing the history of the Indian dialects, and by any other evidence which may be found available for the purpose, that both the Sanskrit language and the Hindu people have an affinity with certain other races in the west, that the progenitors of the Hindus immigrated into India at an early period, and gradually spread themselves to the east and south, that their original language has undergone a gradual change, from internal development, as well as from contact with the indigenous dialects previously existing in India; that certain of their writings, the Vedas, afford strong evidence (in the archaic character of their grammatical forms, as well as in their distinct allusions to forms of worship, and a state of society, widely different from those which prevailed at a later period) of being the product of a far higher antiquity than their other writings, e. g. the Puranas. The proof of this modification in the original language, and of this chronological succession in the different parts of the sacred literature of the Hindus is an essential element in the evidence that their religion and institutions have undergone a gradual development; and again the development in the religion and institutions, when established, will presuppose and prove the successive composition of the writings in which these are recorded. These two sets of propositions, therefore, are closely connected, and mutually imply each other. It will hereafter be my endeavour so to treat the whole subject as to lay a foundation in the proof of those facts which can be most clearly demonstrated to the satisfaction of the Indian mind, and to build up on that basis the conclusions to which these facts may conduct.

After this preliminary proof of the superior antiquity and originality of the Vedic hymns, and of the subsequent growth of the other portions of Indian literature, an enquiry will be made into various important questions connected with the Vedas themselves. The opinions of the Puranic writers, of the authors of the philosophical systems (the *Dărśănas*), and of the more eminent com-

mentators, in regard to the origin, inspiration, and authority of these venerable books, and their relations to the other sacred writings of inferior estimation, will be quoted; and an endeavour will then be made to ascertain from numerous passages of the Vedas themselves, what was the real character of the hymns, in what circumstances they originated, and what opinions their authors themselves entertained in regard to their own compositions;—how far they claimed to be moved by any divine inspiration, or looked on the hymns as the simple products of their own minds.

An enquiry will follow into the Vedic mythology, and into the nature and relations of the different component elements of Indian society in the Vedic era, as deducible from the hymns. I shall next endeavour to exhibit, by citations from the Brāhmanas and other writings growing immediately out of the Vedic hymns, and from the still later mythological poems, and other works, the development of the caste system; the growth of the popular religion, the decline in the reverence paid to the ancient deities of the Vedas, and the incipient and progressive popularity of various new divinities in later ages; and finally the rise and development of the different philosophical systems, and their relations to the Vedas, and to each other;—so far, I mean, as the discussion of these several questions may be connected with the general ends which I propose to accomplish, or can be elucidated from the limited sources of information, original or derived, which are at my command.

# CHAPTER I.

## TEXTS ON THE GENERAL THEORY OF THE ORIGIN OF CASTES.

RESERVING for determination at some future stage of this work such questions as that of the proper weight attaching to the testimony of the Puranas, and their relations to the Vedas, (which are admitted by all the adherents of the Hindu system to be the primary and infallible authority,) according to the decision of the most exact and scientific of the Indian authors,—I will assume for the present, (but merely for the sake of argument,) that, according to Hindu belief, the teaching of the Puranas on any point is conclusive; and proceed to examine what are the accounts given to us on the origin and nature of castes, as well in the Puranas, and Itihāsas, as in the hymns, and other portions, of the Vedas.

### SECT. I.—*Opinion of the modern Hindus on this subject.*

Though the opinion that all mankind are descended from one common ancestor may be implied in some of the ancient traditions of India, it is well known that the modern Hindu authors do not teach that belief. They maintain, on the contrary, on the authority of their more popular S'āstras, that there were four original castes, Brahmans, Kshattriyas, Vaiśyas, and S'ūdras, separately created by Brahmā, and that from them all the mixed classes of the Indian population have sprung. In proof of this the text of the Jātimālā, quoted by Mr. Colebrooke, (Misc. Ess. II. 178—9,) may be adduced. It is as follows:

"In the first creation by Brăhmā, Brāhmănas proceeded, with the Veda, "from the mouth of Brahmā. From his arms Kshatriyas sprung: so from "his thigh Vaiśyas: from his foot S'ūdras were produced; all with their "females. The lord of creation viewing them said, 'What shall be your "occupations?' They replied, 'We are not our own masters, O God! "command us what to undertake.' Viewing and comparing their labours, "he made the first tribe superior over the rest. As the first had great "inclination for the divine sciences (*Brăhmaveda*), therefore he was *Brăh-*"*măna*. The protector from ill (*Kshăyăte*) was *Kshatriya*. Him whose

" profession (*Veśa*) consists in commerce, which promotes the success of " wars, for the protection of himself and mankind, and in husbandry, and " attendance on cattle, he called *Vaiśya*. The other should voluntarily " serve the three tribes, and therefore he became a *Śūdra:* he should hum- " ble himself at their feet." [1]

'And in another place :'

" A chief of the twice-born tribe was brought by Vishṇu's eagle from " *Śāka dwīpa:* thus have *Śāka dwīpa Brāhmaṇas* become known in *Jămbu* " *dwīpa.*"

It is not necessary that I should here specify the prerogatives of the Brahmans, or the rights and duties of the other classes, as these things are pretty generally understood. The immense antiquity which is ascribed to these primeval classes will appear in the course of the enquiry. I proceed at once to cite the principal passages of the Hindu writings which are within my reach relating to the separate creation of the four original castes, to subject these to a critical examination, and to compare them with other texts of a different tenour.

## Sect. II.—*The Pŭrŭsha Sūktā or 90th hymn of the Xth Book of the Rig Veda.*

The oldest passage which alludes to the fourfold origin of the Hindu race appears to be that in the celebrated hymn known as the *Pŭrŭsha Sūkta;* which is found in three of the Vedic Sănhitās, viz. the Rig Veda, X. 90, the Vājăsănēyi Sănhitā of the Yăjŭr Veda, XXXI. 1—16, and the Ăthărva Veda, XIX. 6. (See Colebrooke's Misc. Ess. I. 167—8, and 309, note; Burnouf's Bhāgăvăta Purāna, Vol. I. preface, CXXIII, et seqq.; Wilson's pref. to his translation of Rig Veda, I. XLIV; Roth in the Zeits. Deutsch. Morg. Ges. I. pp. 78—9; Müller in Bunsen's Philosophy of Univ. History, Vol. I. p. 344.) In order to render the character of this passage appreciable, it will be necessary to adduce the context. I therefore quote the whole of the hymn.

" 1. Purusha has a thousand heads, a thousand eyes, a thousand feet. " Every where pervading the earth, he overpassed a space of ten fingers.

" 2. Purusha alone is this whole [universe], which has been, and is to be. " He is the lord of immortality, that which expands by nutriment. [?]

" 3. So great is his glory; and Purusha is greater than this. All crea- " tures make a fourth of him; three fourths of him [are] immortality in " the sky.

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[1] I have not access to the original text of this passage.

"4. Purusha with these three parts mounted upwards; a fourth of him "was again produced here. He then diffused himself every where among "things animate and inanimate.

"5. From him sprang Virāj; over Virāj was Purusha: being born he "extended himself, and [produced] the earth and corporeal forms.

"6. When the gods offered up Purusha in sacrifice, the spring was its "clarified butter, summer its wood, and autumn the offering.

"7. This victim, Purusha, born primevally, they immolated on the sacri- "ficial grass; with him as their oblation the gods, Sādhyas, and Ṛishis "sacrificed.

"8. From that universal oblation were produced curds and clarified "butter. He produced the animals of which Vāyu is the deity, both wild "and tame.

"9. From that universal sacrifice were produced the hymns called *ṛich* "and *sāman*, the metres, and the *yajus*.

"10. From that were produced horses and all animals with two rows of "teeth, cows, goats, and sheep.

"11. When they formed [or offered up] Purusha, into how many parts "did they divide him? What was his mouth? what were his arms? what "were called his thighs and feet?

"12. The Brahman was his mouth; the Rājanya was made his arms; "that which was the Vaiśya was his thighs; the Śūdra sprang from his "feet.

"13. The moon was produced from his mind (*mănăs*); the sun from his "eye; Indra and Agni from his mouth; and Vāyu from his breath.

"14. From his navel came the atmosphere; from his head the sky; from "his feet the earth; from his ear the four quarters: so they formed the "worlds.

"15. When the gods in performing their sacrifice bound Purusha as the "victim, there were seven trenches [round the altar], and there were made "thrice seven pieces of fuel.

"16. With sacrifice the gods worshipped the Sacrifice: these were the "first rites. These great beings attained to the heaven where the gods, the "ancient Sādhyas, reside." [2]

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[2] Rig Veda, X. hymn 90. (I consider myself justified, in a popular work like this, in printing the Vedic texts without their proper accents.)

सहस्रशीर्षा पुरुषः सहस्राक्षः सहस्रपात् । स भूमिं विश्वतो वृत्वाऽत्यतिष्ठद् दशाङ्गुलम् ॥१॥ पुरुष एवेदं सर्वं यद् भूतं यच्च भाव्यम् । उतामृतत्वस्येशानो

The allegorical character of this hymn is, as Mr. Colebrooke remarks, (Misc. Ess. I. 168, note,) sufficiently obvious. Mâhîdhâra, the commentator

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यदन्नेनातिरोहति ॥२॥ एतावान् अस्य महिमाऽतो ज्यायांश्च पूरुषः । पादोऽस्य विश्वा भूतानि त्रिपादस्यामृतं दिवि ॥३॥ त्रिपाद् ऊर्ध्व उदैत् पुरुषः पादोऽस्येहाभवत् पुनः । ततो विष्वङ् व्यक्रामत् साशनानशने अभि ॥४॥ तस्माद् विराळजायत विराजो अधि पूरुषः । स जातो अत्यरिच्यत पश्चाद् भूमिमथो पुरः ॥५॥ यत् पुरुषेण हविषा देवा यज्ञमतन्वत । वसन्तो अस्यासीद् आज्यं ग्रीष्म इध्मः शरद् हविः ॥६॥ तं यज्ञं बर्हिषि प्रौक्षन् पुरुषं जातमग्रतः । तेन देवा अयजन्त साध्या ऋषयश्च ये ॥७॥ तस्माद् यज्ञात् सर्वहुतः सम्भृतं पृषदाज्यम् । पशूंस्तांश्चक्रे वायव्यान् आरण्या ग्राम्याश्च ये ॥८॥ तस्माद् यज्ञात् सर्वहुत ऋचः सामानि जज्ञिरे । छन्दांसि जज्ञिरे तस्माद् यजुस्तस्मादजायत ॥९॥ तस्मादश्वा अजायन्त ये के चोभयादतः । गावो ह जज्ञिरे तस्मात् तस्माज्जाता अजावयः ॥१०॥ यत् पुरुषं व्यदधुः कतिधा व्यकल्पयन् । मुखं किमस्य कौ बाहू का ऊरू पादा उच्येते ॥११॥ ब्राह्मणोऽस्य मुखमासीद् बाहू राजन्यः कृतः । ऊरू तदस्य यद् वैश्यः पद्भ्यां शूद्रो अजायत ॥१२॥ चन्द्रमा मनसो जातश्चक्षोः सूर्यो अजायत । मुखाद् इन्द्रश्चाग्निश्च प्राणाद् वायुरजायत ॥१३॥ नाभ्या आसीद् अन्तरिक्षं शीर्ष्णो द्यौः समवर्तत । पद्भ्यां भूमिर्दिशः श्रोत्रात् तथा लोकानकल्पयन् ॥१४॥ सप्तास्यासन् परिधयस्त्रिः सप्त समिधः कृताः । देवा यद् यज्ञं तन्वाना अबध्नन् पुरुषं पशुम् ॥१५॥ यज्ञेन यज्ञमयजन्त देवास्तानि धर्माणि प्रथमान्यासन् । ते हि नाकं महिमानः सचन्त यत्र पूर्वे साध्याः सन्ति देवाः ॥१६॥

Such is the text of this hymn as cited by Burnouf (Bhâg. Pur. préf. CXXIV. seqq.) from the Rig Veda. The Vâjâsânêyi Sanhita of the Yajur V. and the Atharva Veda, besides transposing some of the verses, offer certain variations, of which I notice only such as affect the sense. In ver. 1 the A. V. reads **सहस्रबाहुः**, "thousand-armed," for **सहस्रशीर्षा**, "thousand-headed." In ver. 4 (corresponding to ver. 2 of the R. V.) the A. V. has **उतामृतत्वस्येश्वरो यद् अन्येनाभवत् सह**, "the lord of immortality, that which was [or became] with another," instead of **उतामृतत्वस्येशानो यदन्नेनातिरोहति**, "the lord of immortality, that which expands by nutriment." In ver. 11 the A. V. reads **प्रावृषा**, "with the rainy season," instead of **बर्हिषि**, "on the sacrificial grass," which we find in ver. 7 of the R. V.; and **वसवश्च**, "Vasus," instead of **ऋषयश्च**, "Rishis." In ver. 6 (= to ver. 12 of the R. V.) the A. V. has **अभवत्**, "became," for **कृतः**, "was made;" and **मध्यम्**, "middle," for **ऊरू**, "thighs." In ver. 12 (= to ver. 13 of the R. V.) the Yaj. V. has **श्रोत्राद् वायुश्च प्राणश्च मुखादग्निरजायत**, "from his ear

on the Yajur V., says that "the deity celebrated here is Purusha, the source "of the universe;" and that "as in the preceding section the different mem- "bers of the supreme spirit, conceived as the great Purusha-sacrifice, had "been specified, so here Purusha, the body of which they are members, is "celebrated."[3] Prof. Wuttke (in his Geschichte des Heidenthums [History of Paganism], IId Part, p. 282) thus explains the hymn: "The production of "the world is here represented by the immolation of Brahma; who is dis- "membered by the gods, the great powers who first came into being; and "solemnly cut up as a victim, and the world fashioned out of his limbs." Mahīdhara annotates thus on verse 15: "When the gods, in the form of "Prājāpati's vital airs, offering sacrifice, i. e. performing *mental* sacrifice, "bound Purusha as a victim, i. e. contemplated Virāt-Purusha as a vic- "tim,"—&c. &c.[4]

The part of the hymn, however, with which we are most concerned is the 12th verse, viewed in connexion with the 11th. It will be observed that there it is not said that the Brahman was formed from the mouth, or the Rājanya from the arms, or the Vaisya from the thighs, of Brahmā; but that they *were* or were *made* his mouth, arms, and thighs. That this is the proper translation appears from the word *kṛitah*, or *abhavat*, as the Atharva V. reads; both of which are in the singular, agreeing with Rājanya, while the word *bāhū*, "arms," is in the dual; so that (according to the ordinary rules of syntax, at least), the construction must be *the Rājanya was made his arms*, and not, the converse, *his arms were made the Rājanya*: for *kritah* could

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"sprang (Vāyu) the Wind and breath, and from his mouth, Fire," instead of मुखाद् इन्द्रश्चाग्निश्च प्राणाद् वायुरजायत, "from his mouth sprang Indra "and Fire (Agni), and Vāyu (the Wind) from his breath." In ver. 16 the A. V. totally differs from the R. V., and reads, मूर्ध्नो देवस्य बृहतो अंशवः सप्त सप्रतीः। राज्ञः सोमस्याजायन्त जातस्य पुरुषादधि, "from the head of the great "god, the king Soma, who was produced from Purusha, there arose se- "venty-seven rays."

Some passages of the Purusha Sūkta are imitated in the Vishnu Purana, book I. chap. 12. (See Wilson's V. P. p. 93 and note 2.)

[3] Māhīdh. on Vājāsānēyĭ Sanhitā, XXXI. 1. जगद्बीजपुरुषदेवत्याः षोडश ऋचः .... ब्रह्मणे ब्राह्मणमित्याद्याः पुरुषमेधस्य परमात्मनोऽवयवाः पूर्वाध्यायान्ते प्रोक्तास्तेषामवयवी पुरुषोऽत्र स्तूयते ॥

[4] यत् यदा देवा प्रजापतिप्राणेन्द्रियरूपा यज्ञं तन्वाना मानसं यज्ञं कुर्वाणाः पुरुषं पशुमबध्नन् विराट्पुरुषमेव पशुत्वेन भावितवन्तः ॥

not agree with *bāhū*, "arms."[5] It is only the Sūdra who is here said to have *sprung* from the feet of Purusha. In a hymn of this allegorical and mystical character it cannot be assumed that the writer intended to represent it as a historical fact, that the four different classes sprang from different parts of Purusha's body; any more than that he desired to assert, as literally true, what he has stated in verses 13 and 14, that "the moon was "produced from his *mind*, the sun from his *eye*, Indra and Agni from his "*mouth*, and Vāyu from his *breath*," &c. &c. In fact the Yajur Veda alleges that Vāyu came forth from his *ear;* and so contradicts the Rig Veda.

Though the allegorical character of the *Purusha Sūkta* is so manifest, it may be advantageous to give some further illustrations of this same tendency, as exhibited at a somewhat later era in the Brāhmănas and Upănĭshăds. I quote for this purpose, from Dr. Roer's translation (Biblioth. Ind. pp. 9, 10), some passages from the Vrihad Ārănyăka Upănishad of the Yajur Veda. That treatise opens with the following piece of mysticism:

(Dr. Roer's trans. pp. 9, 10.) "Om! The dawn in truth is the head of "the sacrificial horse. The sun is the eye; the wind the breath; the fire, "under the name Vaiśwānara, the open mouth; the year the body of the "sacrificial horse. The heaven is the back; the atmosphere the belly; "the earth the footstool (hoof); the quarters the sides; the intermediate "quarters the bones of the sides; the seasons the members; the months,

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[5] The following is Mahīdhara's explanation of the first part of the verse: पूर्वोक्तप्रश्नोत्तराख्याह। ब्राह्मणो ब्रह्मत्वजातिविशिष्टः पुरुषोऽस्य प्रजापतेर्मुखमासीत् मुखादुत्पन्न इत्यर्थः। राजन्यः क्षत्रियत्वजातिविशिष्टो बाहू कृतो बाहुत्वेन निष्पादितः। तत् तदानीम् अस्य प्रजापतेर्यत् यावूरू तदूपो वैश्यः सम्पन्न ऊरुभ्यामुत्पादित इत्यर्थः॥ "He replies to the preceding questions. The Brahman, "the man possessing the character of *brahma*, was the mouth of the creator, "i. e. was produced from his mouth. The Rājanya, the man possessing "the character of protection (*Kshatriyatwa*), was made his arms, i. e. was "formed in the character of arms. Then the Vaisya was made in the form "of what were his thighs, i. e. was formed from his thighs." It will be observed that after giving the literal meaning of this passage, the commentator adds his own gloss to the several clauses of it, asserting, first, that the words "was the mouth" mean "was *produced* from the mouth;" and again that the words "was made in the form of what were his thighs" mean "was formed *from* his thighs." This explanation no doubt originates in the popular theory of the origin of castes; and may be regarded rather as *put into* the original, than *extracted from* it.

" the half months are the joints; day and night the feet; the constellations " the bones; the sky the muscles;" &c. &c.

The following is another similar passage from the same work: (Dr. Roer's trans. p. 265, 6.) " The world is fire, O Gautama. The " earth is its fuel; fire the smoke; night the flame; the moon the coals; " the stars the sparks. The gods offer rain to this fire. From this offer- " ing food springs forth. Man is fire, O Gautama. His open mouth is " the fuel; breath the smoke; speech the flame; the eye the coals; the " ear the sparks." &c. [6]

## SECT. III.—*Citations from the Bhāgăvăta Purāna.*

The next description of the creation of castes which I shall adduce is from the IId book of the Bhāgăvăta Purāna, 5th chapt. It bears in several respects a closer resemblance to the language and ideas of the *Pŭrŭsha Sūkta* than the accounts I have met with in the other Purānas; [7] and confirms the interpretation given of that Vedic hymn in the last section.

" 34. At the end of many thousand years the living soul (*jīva*) which " resides in time, action, and natural quality, gave life to that lifeless egg " sleeping on the water. 35. Purusha, then, having divided the egg, " issued from it, with a thousand thighs, feet, arms, eyes, faces, and heads. " 36. With his limbs the wise fashion the worlds, the seven lower worlds with " his hips &c., and the seven upper worlds with his loins. 37. The Brah- " man [was] the mouth of Purusha, the Kshattriya his arms: the Vaiśya " sprang from the thighs, and the Sūdra from the feet of *Bhăgăvān*. The " earth (*bhūrloka*) was formed from his feet; the atmosphere from his " navel; the heaven by his heart; the *Măhărloka* by his breast," &c. &c.[8]

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[6] Vrih. Ār. Up. ओम्। उषा वा अश्वस्य मेध्यस्य शिरः। सूर्यश्चक्षुर्वातः प्राणो व्यात्तमग्निर्वैश्वानरः संवत्सर आत्मा अश्वस्य मेध्यस्य। द्यौः पृष्ठमन्तरिक्षमुदरं पृथिवी पाजस्यम्। दिशः पार्श्वे अवान्तरदिशः पर्शव ऋतवोऽङ्गानि मासाश्चार्द्धमासाश्च पर्वाण्यहोरात्राणि प्रतिष्ठा नक्षत्राण्यस्थीनि नभो मांसानि॥ (Dr. Roer's edit. pp. 18—21.) अयं वै लोकोऽग्निर्गौतम तस्य पृथिव्येव समिद् अग्निर्धूमो रात्रिरर्चिश्चन्द्रमाऽङ्गारा नक्षत्राणि विस्फुलिङ्गाः। तस्मिन्नेतस्मिन्नग्नौ देवा वृष्टिं जुह्वति तस्या आहुत्या अन्नं सम्भवति॥ पुरुषो वा अग्निर्गौतम। तस्य व्यात्तमेव समित् प्राणो धूमो वागर्चिश्चक्षुरङ्गाराः श्रोत्रं विस्फुलिङ्गा इत्यादि॥ (Ibid. pp. 1048—9.)

[7] M. Burnouf remarks, in the preface to Vol. I. of his edition of the Bhāgăvata, on the manner in which its author has gone back to Vedic sources for his materials. The same thing is noticed by Dr. Weber, Ind. Studien, I. 286, note.

[8] Bhāg. Pur. II. 5. 34—38. वर्षपूगसहस्रान्ते तदण्डमुदके शयम्। कालकर्म-

In another passage (II. 1. 37) a similar idea is repeated:

"The Brahman is his mouth: he is *Kshattriya-armed*, that great one, "*Vaisya-thighed;* and has the black caste abiding in his feet." [9]

In Book III. of the same Purana, 22. 2—3, we find another statement, as follows, more in accordance with the ordinary representation, though even here the mystical view is again introduced at the close:

"2. Brahmā, who consists of the Veda (*Chhăndas*), for his own preserva- "tion, created you [Brahmans] who are characterized by austerity, know- "ledge, devotion, and chastity. 3. For your protection, the thousand- "footed created us [Kshatriyas] from his thousand arms: the Brahman is "called his heart and the Kshattriya his body." [10]

And in the 6th chapt. of the same IIIrd Book we find these verses (30—34):

"30. From the mouth of Purusha, O son of Kuru, came the Veda "(*Brăhma*); and the Brahman who, owing to his production from the same "organ, became the chief and preceptor of the castes. 31. From his arms "came protection (*Kshăttra*): the Kshatriya devoted himself to that duty, "and being formed from Purusha, defends the castes from the injuries of "their enemies. 32. The arts, which afford subsistence to the world, sprang "from the thighs of the Lord: and thence was produced the Vaiśya, who "provided the maintenance of mankind. 33. From the feet of Bhagavān "sprang service for the fulfilment of duty: from it was formerly produced "the Śūdra, with whose occupation Hari is well pleased. 34. These castes "by fulfilling their own duties, worship Hari their preceptor; for they

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स्वभावस्थो जीवोऽजीवमजीवयत् ॥३४॥ स एव पुरुषस्तस्मादण्डं निर्भेद्य निर्गतः। सहस्रोर्वङ्घ्रिबाह्वक्षः सहस्राननशीर्षवान् ॥३५॥ यस्येहावयवैर्लोकान् कल्पयन्ति मनीषिणः। कट्यादिभिरधः सप्त सप्तोर्ध्वं जघनादिभिः ॥३६॥ पुरुषस्य मुखं ब्रह्म क्षत्रमेतस्य बाहवः। ऊर्वोर्वैश्यो भगवतः पद्भ्यां शूद्रो व्यजायत ॥३७॥ भूर्लोकः कल्पितः पद्भ्यां भुवर्लोकोऽस्य नाभितः। हृदा स्वर्लोक उरसा महर्लोको महात्मनः ॥३८॥

[9] Bhāg. Pur. II. 1. 37. ब्रह्माननं क्षत्रभुजो महात्मा विडूरुरङ्घ्रिश्रितकृष्णवर्णः। In ver. 29 of the same section we have "Indra and the other gods" described as being "his arms, the [four] quarters" as being "his ears, and sound his "hearing:" इन्द्रादयो बाहव आहुरुसाः कर्णौ दिशः श्रोत्रममुष्य शब्दः ॥

[10] Bhāg. Pur. III. 23. 2, 3. ब्रह्माऽसृजत् स्वमुखतो युष्मानात्मपरीप्सया। छन्दोमयस्तपोविद्यायोगयुक्तान् अलम्पटान् ॥२॥ तत्त्राणायासृजच्चास्मान् दोःसहस्राद् सहस्रपात्। हृदयं तस्य हि ब्रह्म क्षत्रमङ्गं प्रचक्षते ॥३॥

"have been produced, with their occupations, to purify themselves by "faith."[11]

SECT. IV.—*Passage from the Atharva Veda.*

In the Atharva Veda, 4. 6. 1, the following distich occurs: "The Brah- "man was born the first, with ten heads, and ten faces: he was the first "who drank the soma; he made poison powerless."[12] This fabulous or mystical being was evidently not the *literal* ancestor of the *present* Brahmans.

SECT. V.—*Passages from the Vrihăd Āranyaka Upanishad, and Taittirīya Brahmana.*

The next passage which I shall quote on the origin of castes is from the Vrihăd Ārănyaka Upanishad of the Yajur Veda; which is identical with a portion of the XIVth book of the Sătăpătha Brahmana. It is this, according to Dr. Roer's translation: "Brahma verily was this before, one "alone. Being one, he did not extend. He, with concentrated power, "created the Kshăttra of elevated nature, viz. all those Kshăttras who are "protectors among the gods, Indra, Vărŭna, Soma, Rŭdra, Părjănya, "Yăma, Death, and Iśāna. Therefore none is greater than the Kshăttra; "therefore the Brāhmăna, under the Kshăttriya, worships at the *Rājasūya* "ceremony. The Kshăttriya alone gives *him* his glory. Brăhma is thus "the birthplace of the Kshăttra. Therefore although the king obtains the "highest dignity, he at last takes refuge in the Brăhma, as in his birth- "place. Whosoever despises him, he destroys his birthplace. He is a "very great sinner, like a man who injures a superior. He did not extend. "He created the Vit. He is all those gods who, according to their classes, "are called Văsus, Rudras, Ādityas, Viswēdēvas, and Mărŭts. He did "not extend. He created the caste of the Sūdras as the nourisher. This "*earth* is the nourisher; for it nourishes all this whatsoever.....This is "the creation of the Brăhma, the Kshăttra, the Vit, and the Sūdra. He

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[11] Bhāg. Pur. III. 6. 30—34. मुखतोऽवर्त्तत ब्रह्म पुरुषस्य कुरूद्वह। यस्तून्मुखत्वाद् वर्णानां मुख्योऽभूद् ब्राह्मणो गुरुः ॥३०॥ बाहुभ्योऽवर्त्तत क्षत्रं क्षत्रियस्तदनुव्रतः। यो जातस्त्रायते वर्णान् पौरुषः कण्टकक्षतात् ॥३१॥ विशोऽवर्त्तन्त तस्योर्वोर्लोकवृत्तिकरीर्विभोः। वैश्यस्तदुद्भवो वार्त्ता नृणां यः समवर्त्तयत् ॥३२॥ पद्भ्यां भगवतो जज्ञे शुश्रूषा धर्मसिद्धये। तस्यां जातः पुरा शूद्रो यद्वृत्त्या तुष्यते हरिः ॥३३॥ एते वर्णाः स्वधर्मेण यजन्ति स्वगुरुं हरिम्। श्रद्धयाऽऽत्मविशुद्ध्यर्थं यज्जाताः सह वृत्तिभिः ॥३४॥

[12] Atharva Veda, IV. 6. 1. ब्राह्मणो जज्ञे प्रथमो दशशीर्षो दशास्यः। स सोमं प्रथमः पपौ स चकारारसं विषम् ॥

" was in the form of Agni (fire) among the gods as Brăhma; he was the " Brāhmana among men, in the form of the Kshattriya, Kshattriya, in the " form of Vaiśya, Vaiśya, in the form of Śūdra, Śūdra. Therefore among the " gods the place (loka) is desired through Agni only, among men through " the Brāhmana, because in their forms Brahma became *manifest*." [13]

The mystical character of this passage also is evident from the analogy of nature which it draws between the Kshattriyas and Vaiśyas, and certain classes of gods who are conceived to correspond to each of those castes respectively.

In the Taittirīya Brāhmana we find a different view: "The Brahman " is a caste derived from the gods; the Sudra is one derived from the " Asuras." [14]

### Sect. VI.—*Manu's account of the origin of castes.*

The following is Manu's account of the creation of mankind: I. 31.

" That the human race might be multiplied, he caused the Brāhman, the " Kshatriya, the Vaiśya, and the Śūdra to proceed from his mouth, his " arm, his thigh, and his foot." [15]

On this the commentator Kŭllūka Bhatta remarks, "It is not to be " doubted that the Brahmans and the other castes were formed by divine " power from the mouth, and other parts of Brahmā; since it is proved by

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[13] Vrih. Ar. Up. I. 4.=Śatapatha Brahmana, XIV. 4. 2. 23, &c. p. 1052 of Weber's edit. ब्रह्म वा इदमग्रे आसीदेकमेव तदेकं सन् न व्यभवत्। तच्छ्रेयो रूपम् अत्यसृजत क्षत्रं यान्येतानि देवत्रा क्षत्राणि इन्द्रो वरुणः सोमो रुद्रः पर्जन्यो यमो मृत्युरीशान इति। तस्मात् क्षत्रात् परं नास्ति तस्माद् ब्राह्मणः क्षत्रियमधस्तादुपास्ते राजसूये। क्षत्र एव तद्यशो दधाति। सैषा क्षत्रस्य योनिर्यद् ब्रह्म। तस्माद् यद्यपि राजा परमतां गच्छति ब्रह्मैवान्ततं उपनिश्रयति स्वां योनिं। य उ एनं हिनस्ति स्वां स योनिमृच्छति स पापीयान् भवति यथा श्रेयांसं हिंसित्वा ॥ ११॥ स नैव व्यभवत् स विशम् असृजत यान्येतानि देवजातानि गणश आख्यायन्ते वसवो रुद्रा आदित्या विश्वेदेवा मरुत इति ॥ १२॥ स नैव व्यभवत् स शौद्रं वर्णमसृजत पूषणम्। इयं वै पूषेयं हीदं सर्वं पुष्यति यदिदं किञ्च ॥ १३॥ . . . . तदेतद् ब्रह्म क्षत्रं विट् शूद्रः। तदग्निनैव देवेषु ब्रह्माभवद् ब्राह्मणो मनुष्येषु क्षत्रियेण क्षत्रियो वैश्येन वैश्यः शूद्रेण शूद्रः। तस्मादग्नावेव देवेषु लोकमिच्छन्ते ब्राह्मणे मनुष्येषु एताभ्यां हि रूपाभ्यां ब्रह्माऽभवत् ॥

[14] Taittirīya Brahmana, I. 2. 6. दैव्यो वै वर्णो ब्राह्मणः। असुर्यः शूद्रः ॥

[15] Manu, I. 31. लोकानान्तु विवृद्ध्यर्थं मुखबाहूरुपादतः। ब्राह्मणं क्षत्रियं वैश्यं शूद्रञ्च निरवर्तयत् ॥

"the Veda." [16] He then refers to the text in the Purusha Sukta, verse 13, above quoted.

It appears from the appeal to the authority of the Veda here, as in many other places, that the *Smriti* and other Sāstras are only authoritative in so far as they are based on the Veda.

Manu proceeds in the 32d and following verses:

"32. Having divided his own body into two parts, the lord (Brăhmā) "became, with the half, a male, and with the half, a female; and in that "female he created *Virāj*. 33. Know, O most excellent of Brāhmans, that "I am the person whom that male, Virāj, after performing devotion, "created; I who am the creator of all this [world]. 34. Being desirous "to form creatures, I performed very arduous devotion, and first created "ten Măhărshis, [or great Rishis,] the lords of creatures; 35 Mărīchi, "Ătri, Angĭras, Pulăstya, Pŭlăha, Krătŭ, Prăchētăs, Văsishtha, Bhrĭgu, "and Nărăda. [17] 36. They, endued with great energy, created seven other "Mănus, and Devas, and the abodes of Devas, and Măhărshis of boundless "power, 37. Yăkshas, Rākshasas, Pisāchas, Găndhărvas, Aspărăsas, "Asŭras, Nāgas, Serpents, Sŭpărnas, and the different classes of Pitris; "..... 39. Kinnăras, apes, fishes, various birds, beasts, deer, men, "and wild animals with two rows of teeth..... 41. Thus by my appoint-"ment, and by the force of devotion, these great ones created all this "movable and immovable world, with separate actions allotted to each "creature." [18]

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[16] Kullūka on Manu, I. 31. दैव्या च शक्त्या मुखादिभ्यो ब्राह्मणादिनिर्माणं न विशङ्कनीयं श्रुतिसिद्धत्वात् ॥

[17] According to the Mahābhărăta, I. 65. 2518. vol. I. p. 92, there were only six mental sons of Brahmā. ब्रह्मणो मानसाः पुत्रा विदिताः षण्महर्षयः। मरीचिरत्र्यङ्गिरसौ पुलस्त्यः पुलहः क्रतुः। मरीचेः कश्यपः पुत्रः &c.: "Six "Maharshis are known, the mental sons of Brahmā, Mărīchi, Atri, Angiras, "Pulăstya, Pulăhu, and Kratu. Kaśyapa was the son of Marīchi," &c. The list in the Vishnu Purana exhibits only nine Mahărshis, omitting Nărăda and substituting Daksha for Prachetas.

[18] Manu, I. 32, et seqq. द्विधा कृत्वाऽऽत्मनो देहमर्द्धेन पुरुषोऽभवत्। अर्द्धेन नारी तस्यां च विराजमसृजत् प्रभुः ॥ तपस्तप्त्वाऽसृजद् यन्तु स स्वयं पुरुषो विराट्। तं मां वित्तास्य सर्वस्य स्रष्टारं द्विजसत्तमाः ॥ अहं प्रजाः सिसृक्षस्तु तपस्तप्त्वा सुदुश्चरम्। पतीन् प्रजानामसृजं महर्षीन् आदितो दश ॥ मरीचिम् अत्र्यङ्गिरसौ पुलस्त्यं पुलहं क्रतुम्। प्रचेतसं वशिष्ठञ्च भृगुं नारदमेव च। एते मनूंस्तु सप्तान्यान् असृजन् भूरितेजसः। देवान् देवनिकायांश्च महर्षींश्चामितौजसः ॥ यक्षरक्षःपि-

It will be observed that among the creatures formed by the ten Maharshis are men, who are not specified as being of any particular caste. How does this creation by the Maharshis consist with the four castes being created separately, and by the immediate act of Brahmā, as described in verse 31? If the castes had been previously created by Brahmā, what necessity existed from their being formed at another stage of the creation by the Maharshis, the third in succession from Brahmā? (1st, Brahmā; 2d, Virāj; 3d, Manu; 4th, the ten Maharshis or Prājāpătis). It would seem as if the legend of the distinct creation of castes had been part of a separate, and perhaps later, tradition, engrafted on the other account.

After Manu Swāyambhuva (son of Swayambhū or the self-existent) has completed his preliminary statement of the creation, he commits to Bhrigu the task of communicating the law. Bhrigu begins by stating as follows:

"61. From this Manu Swāyambhuva sprang six successive Manus, great "and glorious, who respectively created living beings; 62. viz. Swāro- "chisha, Auttămi, Tāmăsa, Raivăta, Chākshŭsha, of great glory, and Vai- "vaswăta. 63. These seven Manus, of great splendour, of whom Swā- "yambhuva was the first, have, each in his own period, created, and "sustained the universe."[19] .... "79. The age of the gods which has been "before described, consisting of twelve thousand years, multiplied by "seventy-one, is called a *manwăntăra* [or the period of a Manu's reign]. "80. There are innumerable *mănwăntăras*, creations, and dissolutions.[20]

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शाचांश्च गन्धर्वाप्सरसोऽसुरान् । नागान् सर्पान् सुपर्णांश्च पितॄणाञ्च पृथग्ग-
णान् ॥ .... किन्नरान् वानरान् मत्स्यान् विविधांश्च विहङ्गमान् । पशून् मृगान्
मनुष्यांश्च व्यालांश्चोभयतोदतः ॥ ... एवमेतैरिदं सर्वं मन्वियोगाद् महात्मभिः ।
यथाकर्म तपोयोगात् सृष्टं स्थावरजङ्गमम् ॥

[19] Manu, I. 61—63. स्वायम्भुवस्यास्य मनोः षड्वंश्या मनवोऽपरे । सृष्टवन्तः
प्रजाः स्वाः स्वा महात्मानो महौजसः ॥ स्वारोचिषश्चौत्तमिश्च तामसो रैवतस्तथा ।
चाक्षुषश्च महातेजा विवस्वत्सुत एव च ॥ स्वायम्भुवाद्याः सप्तैते मनवो भूरि-
तेजसः । स्वे स्वेऽन्तरे सर्वमिदम् उत्पाद्यापुश्चराचरम् ॥

[20] This will be further explained in the next section. It is not very clear why, if innumerable creations have since proceeded from six following Manus, the creation of Manu Swāyambhuva, with which the present race of mortals can have little to do, has been told to us at all. The summary given in this passage probably attempts to blend several *varying traditions*: or perhaps it is intended to imply that all the *successive* creations are uniform, as is indeed intimated in the Vishnu Purana, I. 5. 55.

"The supreme Being performs this again and again, as if in sport." [21] At verse 87 Bhrigu recurs to the creation of the four castes, and, without any reference to the different character of the four Yŭgas (or ages of the world) which had been described in the preceding verse, thus states the difference of their duties: "87. For the preservation of this whole creation, that "glorious being ordained separate duties for those who sprang from his "mouth, his arms, his thighs, and his feet." [22] Then follows a lofty estimate of the prerogatives of the Brahmans; (verse 93.) "Since the Brah-"man sprang from the most excellent organ; since he was the firstborn and "possesses the Veda, he is by right the chief of this whole creation." [23] But as there are distinctions among men, so also a distinction is recognised by Manu even among Brahmans; "Of intelligent beings, men are the most "excellent; of men, Brahmans; of Brahmans, the learned; of the learned, "those who know their duty; of those who know it, they who do it; and "of those who do it, the men who are skilled in the Vedas." [24]

In a subsequent part of Manu, XII. 43 &c., we have a very different classification of creatures, viz. one made according to the three *guṇas* or qualities; and we find different classes of Brahmans occupying very different grades in this scale: thus it is said in verse 43: "Elephants, horses, Sūdras, and con-"temptible Mlechhas, lions, tigers, and boars form the middle dark (*tāmăsī*) "condition. [25] 46. Kings, Kshatriyas, kings' priests (*purōhita*), and men "whose chief delight is in the war of words, compose the middle condition "of passion (*rājăsī*). [26] Devotees, ascetics, Brāhmans, the deities borne on "aerial cars, the constellations (*năkshătra*), the Daityas, form the lowest

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[21] Manu, I. यत् प्राग् द्वादशसाहस्रमुदितं दैविकं युगम् । तदेकसप्ततिगुणं मन्वन्तरमिहोच्यते ॥ मन्वन्तराण्यसंख्यानि सर्गः संहार एव च । क्रीडन्निवैतत् कुरुते परमेष्ठी पुनः पुनः ॥

[22] Manu, I. 87. सर्वस्यास्य तु सर्गस्य गुप्त्यर्थं स महाद्युतिः । मुखबाहूरुपज्जानां पृथक् कर्माण्यकल्पयत् ॥

[23] Manu, I. 93. उत्तमाङ्गोद्भवाज्ज्यैष्ठ्याद् ब्रह्मणश्चैव धारणात् । सर्वस्यैवास्य सर्गस्य धर्मतो ब्राह्मणः प्रभुः ॥

[24] Manu, I. 96, 97. बुद्धिमत्सु नराः श्रेष्ठा नरेषु ब्राह्मणाः स्मृताः ॥ ब्राह्मणेषु च विद्वांसो विद्वत्सु कृतबुद्धयः । कृतबुद्धिषु कर्त्तारः कर्त्तृषु ब्रह्मवेदिनः ॥

[25] Manu, XII. 43. हस्तिनश्च तुरङ्गाश्च शूद्रा म्लेच्छाश्च गर्हिताः । सिंहा व्याघ्रा वराहाश्च मध्यमा तामसी गतिः ॥

[26] Manu, XII. 46. राजानः क्षत्रियाश्चैव राज्ञश्चैव पुरोहिताः । वादयुद्धप्रधानाश्च मध्यमा राजसी गतिः ॥

" state of goodness (*sāttwikī*). Priests, Rishis, gods, the Vedas, the fixed " stars, years, the Pitṛis, and Sādhyas compose the second state of good- " ness. Brahmā, the creators, virtue, the Great One, the Unapparent " One, form, as the wise say, the highest condition of goodness."[27] Here we see Kshatriyas, and kings' priests, who of course are Brahmans, in the same grade, while other Brahmans of different sorts rank in *two* of the higher classes. The highest class of Brahmans rank with the Rishis and the Vedas; while the Vedas themselves are only in the second class of good (*sāttwika*) existences, and lower than Brăhmā, their alleged author.

SECT. VII.—*Account of the Yuga system, and of the creation of castes, according to the Vishnu Purana.*

I shall next adduce the description given in the Vishnu Purana of the origin of the four castes; prefixing to it however some account of the several great mundane periods, or Yŭgās, Mănwăntăras &c., and a condensed narrative of the whole creation, as there furnished.

The computations of the great mundane periods are thus stated in the Vishnu Purāna: (see pp. 22—25, 49, 621—44 of Prof. Wilson's translation of that work.)

1 year of mortals = 1 day of the gods.

12,000 divine years = a period of 4 Yugas, which is thus made up, viz.

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Krĭtă Yŭgā, | with its mornings and evenings, | | | 4,800 | divine years. |
| Trētā | do. with | do. | and do. | 3,600 | do. |
| Dwāpăra | do. with | do. | and do. | 2,400 | do. |
| Kăli | do. with | do. | and do. | 1,200 | do. |
| | | | making | 12,000 | divine years. |

As a day of the gods = one year of mortals, the 12,000 divine years must be multiplied by 360, the assumed number of days in a year, to give the number of the years of mortals in this great period of 4 Yugas, thus:

12,000 divine years × 360 = 4,320,000 years of mortals.

1000 of these periods of 12,000 divine, or 4,320,000 human years, i. e. 4,320,000,000 human years = 1 day of Brahmā; and as many more years = a night of Brahmā. Within that period of a day of Brahmā, 14 Manus reign. The *Mănwăntăra*, or period of a Mănu, is consequently = the 14th part of a day of Brahmā. In the present Kălpa (= a day of Brahmā)

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[27] Manu, XII. 48. तापसा यतयो विप्रा ये च वैमानिका गणाः। नक्षत्राणि च दैत्याश्च प्रथमा सात्विकी गतिः॥ यज्ञान ऋषयो देवा वेदा ज्योतींषि वत्सराः। पितरश्चैव साध्याश्च द्वितीया सात्विकी गतिः॥ ब्रह्मा विश्वसृजो धर्मो महानव्यक्तमेव च। उत्तमां सात्त्विकीमेतां गतिमाहुर्मनीषिणः॥

six Manus, of whom Swāyămbhŭva was the first, have already passed away, the present Manu being Vaivăswăta. In each Manwantara certain gods, Rishis, and other personages are created, and perish. A thousand of the systems of 4 Yugas, as has been explained, occur coincidently with these 14 Manwantaras; and consequently about 71 systems of 4 Yugas elapse during each Manwantara. At the end of this day of Brahmā a dissolution (though not a total one) of the universe takes place, which lasts through a night of Brahma, equal in duration to his day. At the end of this night he awakes and creates anew. A year of Brahmā is composed of the proper number of such days and nights; and 100 such years constitute his whole life. The period of his life is called *Părā*, and the half of it *Părārddha*, half of a *Părа*. One *Părārddha*, or half of Brahmā's existence, has now expired, terminating with the great Kălpă called the Pādma Kalpa. The now existing Kalpa, (or day of Brahmā,) called Vārāha, (or that of the boar,) is the first of the second *Părārddha* of Brăhmā's existence. The dissolution of the universe which occurs at the end of each Kalpa, (or day of Brăhmā,) is called incidental, or intermediate, (*naimittika*, or *ŭpăsănhrĭti*); while that which takes place at the close of Brahmā's life is denominated elemental, (*măhā-prălăya*, or *prākrita-prălăya*). (See Wilson's Vishnu Pur. pp. 56, 57, 227, and note 24; pp. 487, 621, and 630—33).

Prof. Wilson has the following general account of the cosmogony of the Vishnu Purana at p. LIX of his preface: "The first book . . . . is occupied "chiefly with the details of creation, primary (Sărga) and secondary (Pră-"tĭsarga); the first explaining how the universe proceeds from Prăkrĭti, or "eternal crude matter; the second, in what manner the forms of things "are developed from the elementary substances previously evolved, or how "they reappear after their temporary destruction. Both these creations "are periodical, but the termination of the first occurs only at the end of "the life of Brahmā, when not only all the gods and all other forms are "annihilated, but the elements are again merged into primary substance, "besides which only one spiritual being exists: the latter takes place at "the end of every Kalpa, or day of Brahmā, and affects only the forms of "inferior creatures, and lower worlds, leaving the substance of the universe "entire, and sages and gods unharmed."

The creation now to be described is that of the Vārāha Kalpa, succeeding that of the Pādma Kalpa.

"At the close of the past (or Pādma) Kalpa, the divine Brăhmā, endowed "with the quality of goodness (*săttwa*), awoke from his night-slumber, and "beheld the universe void. He, the supreme lord, Nārāyăna" (so called because his first progress, *ăyănă*, was upon the waters, *nārāh*), "who can-

" not be even conceived by others, invested with the form of Brăhmā, the " god without beginning, the source of all things, discovering by inference " that the earth lay within the waters of the universal ocean, and being " desirous to raise it up, assumed another form for that purpose, namely " the body of a boar, as at the beginning of other Kalpas he had taken the " shape of a fish or a tortoise."[28] He then plunged into the ocean, and raised up the earth from the lowest regions. His praise was celebrated by Sănăndăna and the other great sages residing in the sphere of saints, who, as explained before (V. P. p. 25), had escaped the foregoing dissolution of the universe. The earth, which he placed on the surface of the ocean, floats in consequence of its expansive bulk. It was divided into seven great continents, as it had previously been; and the four spheres of earth, sky, heaven, and the world of the sages (Măhărloka) were constructed. (V. P. pp. 29—32.) The further process of cosmogony is thus described: " While " Brahmā was meditating on creation, as formerly at the beginning of the " Kalpas, there appeared an inanimate creation, composed of gloom. From " that great Being appeared fivefold Ignorance, consisting of gloom, illusion, " great illusion, darkness, and utter darkness."[29] This is the first creation of immovable things. It was followed by the second, that of irrational animals (*tiryăksrōtăsăs*, so called from their nutriment following a winding course.) The third formation was that of the *ūrddhwăsrōtăsas* (i. e. those whose nutriment proceeds upwards) or *Devas*, characterized by the quality of goodness. As his object was not fully answered by any of these classes, Brahmā proceeded to create the *ărvāksrōtasas* (so called from the downward current of their nutriment.) " These had abundant illumination both ex- " ternally and internally; but were also full of darkness (*tămăs*) and passion " (*răjăs*),[30] and consequently exposed to much suffering, and living in con-

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[28] Vishnu P. I. 4. 2. अतीतकल्पावसाने निशासुप्तोत्थितः प्रभुः । सञ्चोदितक्रस्ततो ब्रह्मा शून्यं लोकमवैक्षत ॥२॥ नारायणः परोऽचिन्यः परेषामपि स प्रभुः । ब्रह्मस्वरूपी भगवान् अनादिः सर्वसम्भवः ॥३॥ . . तोयान्तः स महीं ज्ञात्वा जगत्येकार्णवे प्रभुः । अनुमानात् तदुद्धारं कर्तुकामः प्रजापतिः ॥६॥ अकरोत् स तनूमन्यां कल्पादिषु यथा पुरा । मत्स्यकूर्मादिकां तद्वद् वाराहं वपुरास्थितः ॥७॥

[29] V. P. I. 5. 3 et seqq. सृष्टिं चिन्तयतस्तस्य कल्पादिषु यथा पुरा । अबुद्धिपूर्वकः सर्गः प्रादुर्भूतस्तमोमयः ॥३॥ तमोमोहमहामोहस्तामिस्रोऽप्यन्धसंज्ञितः । अविद्या पञ्चपर्वैषा प्रादुर्भूता महात्मनः ॥४॥

[30] The three qualities or *gunas* are thus characterized by Manu, XII. 38: " The distinguishing mark of *tămăs* is pleasure; of *răjas*, wealth; and of " *sattwa*, righteousness: of these objects each of the last named is superior

"tinual activity. These were men, and they fulfilled Brahmā's purpose." [31] There are yet two other creations, the *Ănŭgrăha* and the *Kaumāra*, the latter being the work of Rudra, and other mind-born sons of Brahmā. (V. P. 34—8.)

A more ample account of the creation being desired by Maitreya, Parāśara, the spokesman in the Vishnu Purāna, proceeds to give him a somewhat different account (p. 39). While Brahmā was deeply meditating, his body became pervaded with darkness (*tămăs*), and the demons (*Asuras*) issued from his thigh. He abandoned that body, and took another, when the gods (*Suras*) having a predominance of goodness (*săttwă*) were produced from his mouth. He then assumed a third body, also pure, from which sprang the Pitris. "He next took a body distinguished by passion "(*răjăs*), from which were produced men, in whom that quality is power-"ful." [32] From another body were formed Rākshăsas, Yăkshas &c.; and finally Brahmā formed sheep from his breast; goats from his mouth; kine from his belly and sides; horses, elephants &c. &c. from his feet; and herbs, roots, and fruits from the hairs of his body. The Vedas, their metres &c., were then created from his eastern, southern, western, and northern mouths. "These creatures, as they are reproduced time after "time, discharge the same functions as they had fulfilled in each previous "creation." [33]

The following chapter (the 6th) of the Ist Book of the V. P., of which I shall cite a portion at length, professes to give a more detailed account of the creation of mankind. Maitreya speaks: "You have described to me the "Arvāksrōtas, or human creation: tell me particularly how Brahmā formed "it: how he made the castes, and with what qualities; and what are the "reputed duties of the Brahmans and the rest." Parāśara replies: "When "Brahmā, meditating on truth, became desirous to create the world, crea-"tures in whom goodness (*săttwă*) prevailed, sprang from his mouth; "others in whom passion (*răjăs*) predominated, came from his breast;

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"to the one immediately preceding." तमसो लक्षणं कामो रजसस्त्वर्थ उच्यते। सत्त्वस्य लक्षणं धर्मः श्रैष्ठ्यमेषां यथोत्तरम् ॥

[31] V. P. I. 5. 16. ते च प्रकाशबहुलास्तमोद्रिक्ता रजोऽधिकाः। तस्मात् ते दुःख बहुला भूयो भूयश्च कारिणः। प्रकाशा बहिरन्तश्च मनुष्याः साधकास्तु ते ॥

[32] V. P. I. 5. 33. रजोमात्रात्मिकाम् अन्यां जगृहे स तनुं ततः। रजोमात्रोत्कटा जाता मनुष्या द्विजसत्तम ॥

[33] V. P. I. 5. 55. तेषां ये यानि कर्माणि प्राक् सृष्ट्यां प्रतिपेदिरे। तान्येव प्रतिपद्यन्ते सृज्यमानाः पुनः पुनः ॥

"others in whom both passion and darkness (*tămăs*) prevailed, sprang from "his thighs; he formed others in whom darkness (*tămăs*) was the chief "element from his feet. All these therefore constituted the system of "four castes, Brahmans, Kshattriyas, Vaiśyas, and Śūdras, who issued "from his feet, thighs, breast, and mouth. Brahmā formed all this four-"fold system for the performance of sacrifice, of which it is an excellent "instrument."[34] A little further on, verses 10 et seqq. of the same section, the primeval condition of men is thus described: "These creatures, "formed by Brahmā in the condition of the four castes, were entirely in-"clined to the practice of faith. They abode wherever they pleased; they "were free from every impediment; pure-hearted, pure, and blameless in "every observance. Pure Hari (Vishnu) dwelling in their pure minds, "(they enjoyed) pure knowledge, whereby they contemplate the abode of "his glory. Afterwards that which is called the portion of Hari consisting "of time, infused into these beings dreadful sin, in the form of passion "and the like, in small degree and of little force, but the seed of unright-"eousness, arising from darkness (*tămăs*) and cupidity, and ineffective "[of liberation ?]. Thereafter their innate perfectness, and the other eight "perfections called *Răsōllāsā* and the rest, were but little evolved. As "all these creatures became enfeebled, and sin increased, they were afflicted "with suffering arising from the pairs [of susceptibilities to different plea-"sures and pains] &c."[35] It then became necessary for them to build

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[34] V. P. I. 6. 1 et seqq. मैत्रेय उवाच ॥ अवीक्सोतस्तु कथितो भवता यस्तु मानुषः । ब्रह्मन् विस्तरतो ब्रूहि ब्रह्मा तमसृजद् यथा ॥१॥ यथा च वर्णानसृजद् यद्गुणांश्च महामुने । यच्च तेषां स्मृतं कर्म विप्रादीनां तदुच्यताम् ॥२॥ पराशर उवाच ॥ सत्याभिध्यायिनस्तस्य सिसृक्षोर्ब्रह्मणो जगत् । अजायन्त द्विजश्रेष्ठ सत्त्वोद्रिक्ता मुखात् प्रजाः ॥३॥ वक्षसो रजसोद्रिक्तास्तथाऽन्या ब्रह्मणोऽभवन् । रजसा तमसा चैव समुद्रिक्तास्तथोरुतः ॥४॥ पद्भ्याम् अन्याः प्रजा ब्रह्मा ससर्ज द्विजसत्तम । तमःप्रधानास्ताः सर्वाश्चातुर्वर्ण्यमिदं ततः ॥ ब्राह्मणाः क्षत्रिया वैश्याः शूद्राश्च द्विजसत्तम । पादोरुवक्षःस्थलतो मुखतश्च समुद्गताः ॥५॥ यज्ञनिष्पत्तये सर्वमेतद् ब्रह्मा चकार वै । चातुर्वर्ण्यं महाभाग यज्ञसाधनमुत्तमम् ॥६॥

[35] V. P. I. 6. 10. प्रजास्तां ब्रह्मणा सृष्टाश्चातुर्वर्ण्यव्यवस्थिताः । सम्यक् श्रद्धा-समाचारप्रवणा मुनिसत्तम ॥१०॥ यथेच्छावासनिरताः सर्वाबाधाविवर्जिताः । शुद्धान्तःकरणाः शुद्धाः सर्वानुष्ठाननिर्मलाः ॥११॥ शुद्धे च तासां मनसि शुद्धेऽन्तः संस्थिते हरौ । शुद्धज्ञानं प्रपश्यन्ति विष्णवाख्यं येन तत्पदम् ॥१२॥ ततः कालात्मको योऽसौ स चांशः कथितो हरेः । स पातयत्यघं घोरमल्पम् अल्पात्मसारवत् ॥१३॥ अधर्मबीजभूतं तु तमोलोभसमुद्भवम् । प्रजासु तासु मैत्रेय रागादिकमसाधकम् ॥१६॥

houses and construct villages and cities for shelter, and to practise agriculture for their support. After describing the different kinds of grain cultivated for common use, and for purposes of sacrifice, and celebrating the blessings resulting from that religious rite, the author proceeds: "But "the particle of sin, created by time, increased in their hearts; and they "paid no regard to sacrifice. Reviling belief in the Vedas, and the Vedas "themselves, the gods, and all sacrificial and other ceremonies, these ob-"structors of sacred rites, and subverters of all religious action, became "wicked, vicious, and perverse in their designs."[36] From the next verses it would appear, that up to this time the duties of the different classes had not been discriminated: "The means of subsistence being provided, "Brăhmā, who had formed living creatures, established ordinances for "them according to their station and qualities; and the duties of the castes "and orders, and the future abodes of the castes who completely fulfil "their duties."[37]

It will be seen from the foregoing details that the account given in the Vishnu Purāna of the creation of mankind is not consistent in its several parts. It is first stated that the *ărvāksrōtăs* creation, or that of mankind, was characterized by the qualities of darkness and passion. It is next related that Brahmā assumed a body distinguished by passion, from which mankind, in whom that quality is powerful, were produced. In neither of these narratives is any mention made of there being any primeval distinction of classes. In the third statement, however, which professes to be more detailed, the human race is said to have been the result of a fourfold creation; and the different castes, produced from different parts of the creator's body, are declared to have been especially characterized by different qualities or *gŭṇăs*, viz. those who came from his mouth, by goodness (*săttwă*); those who came from his breast, by passion (*răjăs*); those who came from his thighs,

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ततः सा सहजा सिद्धिस्तासां नातीव जायते । रसोल्लासादयश्चान्याः सिद्धयोऽष्टौ भवन्ति याः ॥ १७ ॥ तासु क्षीणास्वशेषासु वर्द्धमाने च पातके । द्वन्द्वादिभवदुःखार्त्तास्ता भवन्ति ततः प्रजाः ॥ १८ ॥

[36] V. P. I. 6. 29 et seqq. तेषां तु कालसृष्टोऽसौ पापबिन्दुर्महामते । चेतस्सु ववृधे चक्रुस्ते न यज्ञेषु मानसम् ॥ वेदवादांस्तथा देवान् यज्ञकर्मादिकं च यत् । तत् सर्वं निन्दमानास्ते यज्ञव्यासेधकारिणः ॥ प्रवृत्तिमार्गव्युच्छित्तिकारिणो वेदनिन्दकाः । दुरात्मानो दुराचारा बभूवुः कुटिलाशयाः ॥

[37] V. P. I. 6. 32 et seqq. संसिद्धायां तु वार्त्तायां प्रजाः सृष्ट्वा प्रजापतिः । मर्यादां स्थापयामास यथास्थानं यथागुणम् ॥ वर्णानाम् आश्रमाणाञ्च धर्मान् धर्मभृतां वर । लोकांश्च सर्ववर्णानां सम्यग् धर्मानुपालिनाम् ॥

by both passion and darkness (*tămăs*); and those who sprang from his feet, by darkness. In the sequel of this account, however, no mention occurs of any distinction in the earliest age between different portions of the human family, arising from any innate differences of disposition. On the contrary, they were characterized at first by a perfection which is spoken of as if it had been universal and uniform. And only one of all these accounts harmonizes with what Manu says in book XII. 39, 40: "I shall now briefly declare in order "the several worlds in this universe to which the soul goes, through each "of these *gunas* respectively. Those endowed with goodness (*sāttwika*) "always attain the state of gods: those endowed with passion (*rājăsa*) "become men: while those filled with darkness (*tāmăsa*) become beasts: "such is the threefold destination."[38] According to this rule, the Brāhmans, who, we are told, were distinguished by a predominance of goodness, should not have been born as men at all.

Professor Wilson remarks in regard to the variation between the first two, less detailed, statements (p. 39, note 14): "These reiterated, and "not always very congruous accounts of the creation are explained by the "Purānas as referring to different Kalpas, or renovations of the world, "and therefore involving no incompatibility. A better reason for their "appearance is the probability that they have been borrowed from different "original authorities." To this I may add that the text itself says nothing about these different accounts referring to different Kalpas. This convenient mode of reconciling discrepancies is resorted to by the commentators in reference to other points, e. g. the dimensions of the earth. Prof. Wilson observes in a note to V. P. p. 203; "Other calculations occur, the incompatibility of "which is said, by the commentators on our text and on that of the Bhāgă-"văta, to arise from reference being made to different Kalpas, and they "quote the same stanza to this effect: 'Whenever any contradictions in "different Puranas are observed, they are ascribed by the pious to differ-"ences of Kalpas and the like.'"[39] This explanation, however, can only avail if the Puranas themselves declare these discrepant accounts to refer to different Kalpas. Where this is not stated, the details must naturally be understood as relating to the Kalpa now existing.

The 7th chap. of the V. P. Ist book, proceeds: "Then from him, medi-

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[38] Manu, XII. 39, 40. येन यांस्तु गुणेनैषां संसरान् प्रतिपद्यते । तान् समासेन वक्ष्यामि सर्वस्यास्य यथाक्रमम् ॥ देवत्वं सात्त्विका यान्ति मनुष्यत्वञ्च राजसाः । तिर्यक्त्वं तामसा नित्यमित्येषा त्रिविधा गतिः ॥

[39] क्वचित् क्वचित् पुराणेषु विरोधो यदि लक्ष्यते । कल्पभेदादिभिस्तत्र व्यवस्था सद्भिरिष्यते ॥

" tating intensely, was produced mind-born offspring with forms and senses
" derived from his body. Embodied spirits sprang from the bodies of that
" Wise Being;—all those creatures which I have formerly detailed, be-
" ginning with gods, and ending with inanimate objects, in the state of the
" three qualities. Thus were existences, with and without the power of
" motion, created. When all these creatures of the Wise One did not
" multiply, he then created other mind-born sons like himself, viz. Bhrigŭ,
" Pŭlăstya, Pŭlăha, Krătu, Ăngĭras, Marīchi, Dăksha, Atri, and Văsishṭha.
" These nine Brăhmās have been determined in the Purānăs." [40] After describing the creation of Rŭdra, &c., the writer proceeds: " Brăhmā then
" created the glorious Manu Swāyămbhŭva, the protector of creatures, who
" had formerly been generated from himself, and was himself; and the
" female Sătărūpā, who by devotion had purged away sin. Her the divine
" Swāyămbhŭva took for his wife. By that husband the goddess Sătărūpā
" gave birth to [two sons] Priyavrăta and Uttānăpāda, and to two daugh-
" ters named Prăsūti and Ākūti, distinguished by beauty and magnanimity.
" Prăsūti he formerly gave to Dăkshă, and Ākūti to Rŭchi." [41] The Patriarch Dăksha had by Prăsūti (= Birth) twenty-four daughters, all bearing allegorical names, such as Śrăddhā (faith), Lăkshmī (prosperity), Dhrĭtĭ (steadiness), &c. Of these females nine were married to the nine Munis (or Rishis); who correspond to those above enumerated, Bhrigu &c.; excepting that (as Dăksha could not marry his own daughter) Bhăva is substituted for him. In verse 26 it is stated generally that " Daksha,
" Marīchi, Atri, Bhrigu, and the other illustrious Prājāpătis, are the con-

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[40] V. P. I. 7. 1 et seqq. ततोऽति ध्यायतस्तस्य जज्ञिरे मानसीः प्रजाः। तच्छरीरसमुत्पन्नैः कार्य्यैस्तैः कारणैः सह ॥१॥ क्षेत्रज्ञाः समवर्त्तन्त गात्रेभ्यस्तस्य धीमतः। ते सर्वे समवर्त्तन्त ये मया प्रागुदाहृताः ॥२॥ देवाद्याः स्थावरान्ताश्च त्रैगुण्यविषये स्थिताः। एवं भूतानि सृष्टानि चराणि स्थावराणि च ॥३॥ यदाऽस्य ता न प्रजाः सर्वा न व्यवर्धन्त धीमतः। अथान्यान् मानसान् पुत्रान् सदृशान् आत्मनोऽसृजत् ॥४॥ भृगुं पुलस्त्यं पुलहं क्रतुमङ्गिरसं तथा। मरीचिं दक्षमत्रिञ्च वशिष्ठञ्चैव मानसान् ॥ नव ब्रह्माण इत्येते पुराणे निश्चयं गताः ॥५॥

[41] V. P. I. 7. 12 et seqq. ततो ब्रह्माऽऽत्मसम्भूतं पूर्वं स्वायम्भुवं प्रभुम्। आत्मानमेव कृतवान् प्रजापालं मनुं द्विज ॥१२॥ शतरूपाञ्च तां नारीं तपोनिर्धूतकल्मषाम्। स्वायम्भुवो मनु र्देवः पत्न्यर्थं जगृहे प्रभुः ॥१३॥ तस्माच्च पुरुषाद् देवी शतरूपा व्यजायत। प्रियव्रतोत्तानपादौ प्रसूत्याकूतिसंज्ञितम्। कन्याद्वयञ्च धर्मज्ञ रूपौदार्य्यगुणान्वितम् ॥१४॥ ददौ प्रसूतिं दक्षायाथाकूतिं रुचये पुरा ॥

"stant causes of creation": [42] and in chapter 9th their descendants are recounted, some being divine, and others apparently human. See on these genealogies Wilson, who remarks, V. P., p. 85; "Of the general statement "it may be observed, that although in some respects allegorical, as in the "names of the wives of the Rishis ....; and in others astronomical, as in "the denominations of the daughters of Angiras ....; yet it seems proba- "ble that it is not altogether fabulous, but that the persons in some in- "stances had a real existence, the genealogies originating in imperfectly "preserved traditions of the families of the first teachers of the Hindu "religion, and of the descent of individuals who took an active share in "its propagation." In Manu, as we have seen above, (Sect. VI. p. 15, and note 18,) the Măhărshis or Prăjāpătis are ten in number, and men are mentioned as among their descendants. In the passage above quoted (p. 15, note 17) from the Măhābhărăta (I. 65. 2518) only six Maharshis are mentioned; and their progeny included many different grades of creatures.

In his Preface, pp. LX, LXI, Prof. Wilson has the following observations: "After the world has been fitted for the reception of living crea- "tures, it is peopled by the will-engendered sons of Brahmā, the Prăjā- "pătis, or patriarchs, and their posterity. It would seem as if a primi- "tive tradition of the descent of mankind from seven holy personages "had at first prevailed, but that in the course of time it had been ex- "panded into complicated, and not always consistent, amplification. How "could these Rishis or patriarchs have posterity? It was necessary to "provide them with wives. In order to account for their existence, the "Manu Swāyămbhŭva and his wife Sătărūpā were added to the scheme, or "Brahmā becomes twofold, male and female, and daughters are then "begotten, who are married to the Prăjāpătis. Upon this basis various "legends of Brahmā's double nature, some no doubt as old as the Vedas, "have been constructed; but although they may have been derived in "some degree from the authentic tradition of the origin of mankind from "a single pair, yet the circumstances intended to give interest and precision "to the story are evidently of an allegorical or mystical description," &c.

In chap. 15 of the same book of the Vishnu P. we find Daksha reappearing with a different parentage: "The illustrious Prajāpăti Daksha, who formerly "sprang from Brahmā, was born of Mărīshā to the ten Prăchētăsăs. This "illustrious Daksha, fulfilling the command of Brahmā, sunk in con- "templation, with the view of creating progeny for himself, produced off-

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[42] V. P. I. 7. 26. दक्षो मरीचिरत्रिश्च भृग्वाद्याश्च प्रजेश्वराः। जगत्यत्र महाभागा नित्यं सर्गस्य हेतवः॥

" spring, inferior and superior, two footed and four footed." [43] No human beings, however, are specified as the result of this creation; but it is said; " From that time forward living creatures were engendered by sexual in- " tercourse; the progeny of former sages illuminated by extreme devotion, " were begotten by will, look, or touch." [44]

To illustrate the character of Indian legends, as affected by the theories of transmigration, and of the destruction and renovation of worlds, I will add the passage which follows, though it is not connected with our immediate subject: " Maitreya asks: I have heard that Dăksha was produced " from the right thumb [of Brahmā]; how was he again born as the son " of the Prăchētăsăs? This great doubt presents itself to my mind; and " how he, who was the daughter's son of Sōma, afterwards became his " son-in-law." Părāsăra answers: " Birth and disappearance are continually " occurring among living beings: Rishis and others who have divine insight " are not bewildered by this. These great Mŭnis, Daksha and the others, " are born in every *Yuga*, and again disappear:—a wise man is not be- " wildered by this. Formerly, too, there was neither juniority nor seniority " among them: intense devotion and power were the sole causes [of dis- " tinction.]" [45]

## SECT. VIII.—*Origin of castes according to the Vāyu Purāna.*

The following are some extracts from the account of the creation given in the Vāyu Purāna, which, as Prof. Wilson remarks, is characterized by " a more obscure and unmethodical style" than the Vishnu Purana (Pref.

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[43] V. P. I. 15. 52 et seqq. दशभ्यस्तु प्रचेतोभ्यो मारिषायां प्रजापतिः। जज्ञे दक्षो महाभागो यः पूर्वं ब्रह्मणोऽभवत्॥ स तु दक्षो महाभागः सृष्ट्यर्थं सुमहामते। पुत्रानुत्पादयामास प्रजासृष्ट्यर्थमात्मनः॥ अवरांश्च वराश्चैव द्विपदोऽथ चतुष्पदान्। आदेशं ब्रह्मणः कुर्वन् सृष्ट्यर्थं सुसमाहितः॥

[44] V. P. I. 15. 57. ततः प्रभृति मैत्रेय प्रजा मैथुनसम्भवाः। सङ्कल्पाद् दर्शनात् स्पर्शात् पूर्वेषामभवन् प्रजाः॥ तपोविशेषैरिद्धानां तदाऽत्यन्ततपस्विनाम्॥

[45] V. P. I. 15. 60 et seqq. मैत्रेय उवाच॥ अंगुष्ठाद् दक्षिणाद् दक्षः पूर्वं जातः श्रुतं मया। कथं प्राचेतसो भूयः स सम्भूतो महामुने। एष मे संशयो ब्रह्मन् सुमहान् हृदि वर्त्तते। यद् दौहित्रश्च सोमस्य पुनः श्वशुरतां गतः॥ पराशर उवाच॥ उत्पत्तिश्च निरोधश्च नित्यो भूतेषु वै मुने। ऋषयोऽत्र न मुह्यन्ति ये चान्ये दिव्यचक्षुषः॥ युगे युगे भवन्त्येते दक्षाद्या मुनिसत्तमाः। पुनश्चैव निरुध्यन्ते विद्वांस्तत्र न मुह्यति॥ कानिष्ठ्यं ज्यैष्ठ्यमप्येषां पूर्वं नाभूद् द्विजोत्तम। तप एव गरीयोऽभूद् प्रभावश्चैव कारणम्॥

p. XXIII). In fact, there is in several places such a want of sequence and coherence between the topics, that it appears as if the passages had, by the ignorance of the compiler or transcribers of the Purāna, been dislocated from their proper connexion.

"Afterwards, when the creation was suspended, and Brahmā, desirous to "create, was reflecting on these creatures, and meditating on truth, he "formed a thousand pairs from his mouth, endowed with an abundance of "goodness (*săttwa*) and pure-hearted. He next created another thousand "pairs from his breast: they had abundance of passion (*răjăs*), and were "both robust and feeble. Again he formed another thousand pairs from "his thigh; they had an abundance of both passion and darkness (*tămăs*), "and are called energetic. He created yet another thousand pairs from "his feet, who had abundantly the quality of darkness, and were poor and "feeble. The creatures sprung from these pairs, filled with joy, and im-"pelled by love, began to pair with each other; and henceforward sexual "intercourse is said to have prevailed in this *Kălpa*."[46] But from a particular cause the females "bore only pairs of children at the end of their "lives":[47] and it is intimated that "thenceforward in this Kalpa children "were mentally propagated."[48] The original condition of mankind in the Kṛita age is then described with great diffuseness and repetition. The following are some particulars: "In these creatures there was neither virtue nor "vice; they were without difference, being alike in age, happiness, and form "in that *Krita* age ..... These creatures being subsequently multiplied by "thousands, they suffered no impediment or fatigue, and had no suscepti-"bility to extremes; they were free from sorrow, had abundant goodness "(*sattwa*), and were supremely happy; their time was passed in the posses-"sion of all desired enjoyments; cold and heat were not excessive; always

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[46] Vayu Pur. Section entitled *Chăturāsrămăvibhāga*. ततः सर्गे ह्यवष्टब्धे सिसृक्षोर्ब्रह्मणस्तु वै । प्रजास्ता ध्यायतस्तस्य सत्याभिध्यायिनस्तदा ॥ मिथुनानां सहस्रन्तु सोऽसृजद् वै मुखात् तदा । जनास्ते ह्युपपद्यन्ते सत्वोद्रिक्ताः सुचेतसः ॥ सहस्रमन्यद् वक्षस्तो मिथुनानां ससर्ज ह । ते सर्वे रजसोद्रिक्ताः शुष्मिणश्चाप्यशुष्मिणः । सृष्ट्वा सहस्रमन्यत्तु द्वन्द्वानामूरुतः पुनः । रजस्तमोभ्यामुद्रिक्ता ईहाशीलास्तु ते स्मृताः ॥ पद्भ्यां सहस्रमन्यत्तु मिथुनानां ससर्ज ह । उद्रिक्तास्तमसा सर्वे निःश्रीका ह्यल्पतेजसः ॥ ततो वै हर्षमानास्ते द्वन्द्वोत्पन्नास्तु प्राणिनः । अन्योन्यहृच्छयाविष्टा मैथुनायोपचक्रमुः ॥ ततः प्रभृति कल्पेऽस्मिन् मिथुनोत्पत्तिरुच्यते ॥

[47] आयुषोऽन्ते प्रसूयन्ते मिथुनान्येव ते सकृत् ॥

[48] ततः प्रभृति कल्पेऽस्मिन् मिथुनानां हि सम्भवः । ध्याने तु मनसा तासां प्रजानां जायते सकृत् ॥

" and every where the objects which they desired sprang up, when thought " of, from the earth, full of relish [?]. With unadorned bodies, they en- " joyed perpetual youth: by their pure will alone pairs of children were " produced: their form was alike, they were born and died together. Then " truth, contentment, patience, satisfaction, happiness, and self command " prevailed; . . . . . the means of support were produced spontaneously, " without forethought on their parts. In this *Krita* age they engaged in " no actions which were either virtuous or sinful." And it is then added: " *There were then no castes, orders, varieties of condition, or mixture of* " *castes;* they were free from love and hatred in their mutual relations, " alike in form and age, without distinction of lower and higher; . . . . . " knowing no such thing as gain or loss, friendship or enmity, affection or " dislike." [49]

" The Krita age is goodness (*săttwa*); the Tretā is passion (*răjăs*); the " Dwāpara is passion and darkness; and in the Kali darkness (*tămăs*) pre- " vails; according to the necessary course of these ages (*Yuga*)." [50]

The history of the race and its deterioration is somewhat obscurely given, and it is not necessary for my purpose to try to follow the details. Such passages as this occur: " With the close of the Krita age, perfection dis- " appeared; though when this mental perfection declined, another perfec- " tion, formed in this interval, arose in the Tretā. But the eight mental " perfections which have been specified as existing at the beginning of the " creation, gradually disappear. At the commencement of the *Kalpa* there " is one mental perfection, which exists in the *Krita* age. In all the *măn-* " *wăntăras,* according to their fourfold division of Yugas, creatures arise

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[49] धर्माधर्मौ न तास्वास्तां निर्विशेषाः प्रजास्तु ताः । तुल्यमायुः सुखं रूपं तासां तस्मिन् कृते युगे ॥ . . . . . ततः सहस्रशस्तासु प्रजासु प्रथितास्वपि । न तासां प्रतिघातोऽस्ति न द्वन्द्वं नापि च क्लमः ॥ विशोकाः सत्त्वबहुला ह्येकान्तसुखिताः प्रजाः . . . . . सर्वकामसुखः कालः नात्यर्थं द्युष्णशीतता । मनोभिलषिताः कामास्तासां सर्वत्र सर्वदा । उत्तिष्ठन्ति पृथिव्यां वै ताभिध्याताः रसोत्तमाः । (quere रसोत्तमाः?) । असंस्कार्य्यैः शरीरैश्च प्रजास्ताः स्थिरयौवनाः । तासां विशुद्धात् सङ्कल्पाज्जायन्ते मिथुनाः प्रजाः ॥ समं जन्म च रूपञ्च म्रियन्ते चैव ताः समम् । तदा सत्यमलोभश्च क्षमा तुष्टिः सुखं दमः । . . . . . अबुद्धिपूर्वकं वृत्तं प्रजानां जायते स्वयम् ॥ अप्रवृत्तिः कृतयुगे कर्मणोः शुभपापयोः । वर्णाश्रमव्यवस्थाश्च न तदासन् न सङ्करः । अनिच्छा द्वेषमुक्तास्ते वर्त्तयन्ति परस्परम् । तुल्यरूपायुषः सर्वा अधमोत्तमवर्जिताः । . . . . . लाभालाभौ न तास्वास्तां मित्रामित्रे प्रियाप्रिये ॥

[50] सत्त्वं कृतं रजस्त्रेता द्वापरन्तु रजस्तमौ । कलौ तमस्तु विज्ञेयं युगवृत्तवशेन तु ॥

"who become perfect by works connected with castes, orders, and observ-
"ances." [51] At length in the Tretā "after the lapse of a long time, from
"the deterioration of these creatures, the passions of desire and cupidity
"were imperceptibly generated in their minds." [52] In process of time
"their susceptibilities became acute, and they were greatly afflicted by
"severe cold, wind, and heat. Being thus distressed, they made them-
"selves coverings, and resorted for shelter to houses." [53] We are after-
wards told that "beginning then, they were born again in the *Tretā*, Brāh-
"mans, Kshattriyas, Vaiśyas, Śūdras, and destructive men, deriving their
"existence from earlier births, and from actions good or bad." [54] . . . .
"Their food having failed, they went, bewildered and distressed by hunger,
"to Swăyambhū, the lord of creatures, seeking for the means of subsistence,
"in the beginning of the *Tretā*. Brahmā learning their desire, . . . . using
"[the mountain] Sumeru as a calf, milked the earth; from which, when it
"was thus milked, seeds were produced." [55] After a long specification of
the different kinds of grain, we have the following lines: "Their means of
"subsistence being provided, Brahmā established divisions among them, as
"had been begun. Those of them who were suited for command, and prone
"to deeds of violence, he appointed to be Kshătriyas, from their protecting
"others. Those disinterested men who attended upon them, speaking
"truth, and declaring aright the Veda, were Brahmans. Those of them

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[51] एवं कृते तु निःशेषे सिद्धिस्त्वनर्दधे तदा । तस्याञ्च सिद्धौ भ्रष्टायां मानस्याम् अभवत् ततः । सिद्धिरन्या युगे तस्मिंस्त्रेतायाम् अन्तरे कृता ॥ सर्गादौ या मयाऽष्टौ तु मानस्यो वै प्रकीर्त्तिताः । अष्टौ ताः क्रमयोगेन सिद्धयो यान्ति संक्षयम् ॥ कल्पादौ मानसी ह्येका सिद्धिर्भवति सा कृते । मन्वन्तरेषु सर्वेषु चतुर्युगविभागशः । वर्णाश्रमाचारकृतः कर्मसिद्धोद्भवः स्मृतः ॥

[52] ततः कालेन महता (in the Tretā) तासामेव विपर्ययात् । रागलोभात्मको भावस्तदा ह्याकस्मिकोऽभवत् ॥

[53] . . . . द्वन्द्वान्यभ्युत्थितानि च । शीतवातातपैस्तीव्रैस्ततस्ता दुःखिता भृशम् । द्वन्द्वैस्ताः पीड्यमानास्तु चक्रुराभरणानि च । कृत्वा द्वन्द्वप्रतीकारं निकेतानि हि भेजिरे ॥

[54] ततः प्रवर्त्तमानास्ते त्रेतायां जज्ञिरे पुनः । ब्राह्मणाः क्षत्रिया वैश्या शूद्रा द्रोहिजनास्तथा ॥ भाविताः पूर्वजातीषु कर्मभिश्चाशुभाशुभैः ॥

[55] ततस्तासु प्रणष्टासु विभात्तास्ताः प्रजास्तदा । स्वयम्भुवं प्रभुं जग्मुः क्षुधाविष्टाः प्रजापतिम् ॥ वृत्त्यर्थम् अभिलिप्सन्त आदौ त्रेतायुगस्य तु । ब्रह्मा स्वयम्भूर्भगवान् ज्ञात्वा तासां मनीषितम् । . . . . कृत्वा वत्सं सुमेरुन्तु दुहोह पृथिवीमिमाम् । दुग्धेयं गौस्तदा तेन बीजानि पृथिवीतले । जज्ञिरे ॥

"who formerly were feeble, engaged in the work of Vaiśyas, husbandmen, "destroyers of the earth [?], active, are called Vaisyas, cultivators, pro- "viders of subsistence. Those who were cleansers [?], and ran about on "service, and had little vigour or strength, he called Śūdras. Their works "and duties Brahmā fixed at his pleasure. After the constitution of the "four castes had been every way arranged, these creatures from folly did "not perform their duties. Not living according to the rules of their "castes, they were mutually hindered. Perceiving this circumstance, "Brahmā suitably ordained force, punishment, and war to be the occupa- "tions of the Kshattriyas. The direction of sacrifice, study, and the receipt "of alms he declared to be the province of Brahmans. He assigned tend- "ing of cattle, traffic, and agriculture to the Vaiśyas; and the practice of "the mechanical arts, and service, to the Śūdras. The works common to "Brahmans, Kshăttriyas, and Vaiśyas were sacrifice, study, and alms- "giving."[56] This, however, was not the end of the creations, as further

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[56] संसिद्धायान्तु वार्त्तायां ततस्तासां स्वयम्भुवः। मर्य्यादाः स्थापयामास यथाऽऽरब्धाः परस्परम्॥ ये वै परिगृहीतारस्तासाम् आसन् वधात्मकाः [?] इतरेषां कृतत्राणान् स्थापयामास क्षत्रियान्॥ [The Măhābhărăta, Vol. III. p. 444. line 2247, has (instead of कृतत्राणान्) क्षतत्राणात्, "from their preserving (Brahmans) from injuries," in a passage touching on the same subject.] उपतिष्ठन्ति ये तान् वै यावन्तो निर्ममास्तथा [?]। सत्यं ब्रह्म यथाभूतं ब्रुवन्तो ब्राह्मणास्तु ते॥ ये चान्येऽप्य- बलास्तेषां वैश्यकं [?] कर्मसंस्थिताः। कीनाशा नाशयन्ति स्म पृथिव्यां [वीं?] प्रागतन्द्रिताः। वैश्यानेव तु तानाहुः कीनाशान् वृत्तिसाधकान्॥ शोचन्तश्च द्रवन्तश्च परिचर्य्यासु ये रताः। निस्तेजसोऽल्पवीर्य्याश्च शूद्रांस्तानब्रवीत् तु सः॥ तेषां कर्माणि धर्मांश्च ब्रह्मा रूप्याऽदधात् प्रभुः॥ संस्थितौ प्रकृतायान्तु चातुर्वर्ण्यस्य सर्वशः। पुनः प्रजास्तु ता मोहात् तान् धर्मान् नान्वपालयन्॥ वर्णधर्मैरजीवन्त्यो व्यरुध्यन्त परस्परम्॥ ब्रह्मा तमर्थं बुद्ध्वा तु याथातथ्येन वै प्रभुः। क्षत्रियाणां बलं दण्डं युद्धमाजीवमादिशत्॥ याजनाध्ययनं चैव तृतीयञ्च प्रतिग्रहम्। ब्राह्मणानां विभुस्तेषां कर्माण्येतान्यथादिशत्। पाशुपाल्यं वाणिज्यञ्च कृषिञ्चैव विशां ददौ॥ शिल्पाजीवं भृतिञ्चैव शूद्राणां व्यदधात् प्रभुः॥ सामान्यानि तु कर्माणि ब्रह्मक्षत्र- विशां पुनः। यजनाध्ययनं दानं सामान्यानि तु तेषु वै॥ The description of Brāhmăns, Kshatriyas, and Śūdras in this passage is an attempt to explain the functions of the castes from the supposed etymologies of their names. This attempt as regards the three last castes, and especially the Vaisyas and Sudras, is extremely fanciful. Many of the readings in this passage are doubtful, as will be seen from the notes of interrogation which I have inserted.

on we find it said that "when this distribution of castes and orders had "been made, and the creatures composing these castes and orders did not "perform their functions [?], he then formed other mind-born creatures in "the middle of the *Tretā* age, . . . . . creatures who had a predominance of "goodness and passion, and capable of attaining [the four ends of exist-"ence] duty, wealth, pleasure, and final liberation, and of securing sub-"sistence." [57]

The above account of the creation of mankind, and of the progress and vicissitudes of society, is obscure and confused; and in so far as it is intelligible, it is not consistent in its several parts. First, we have the creation of four thousand pairs of human beings; of whom each separate set of one thousand is distinguished by widely different innate qualities, viz. those who issued from Brahmā's mouth, by the quality of goodness, those formed from his breast, by passion, those created from his thighs, by both passion and darkness, and those produced from his feet, by darkness only. Nevertheless (as in the parallel passage of the Vishnu Purana) the condition of perfection which is described as existing in the first or Krita age, is spoken of as if it was common to the whole race; and not only is no distinction adverted to as prevailing between any of the component parts of society at this period, but we are expressly told that no castes or orders then existed. The deterioration which ensued from the inroads of passion is mentioned as if it was universal. Further on, the division into castes which took place is assigned to a period when corruption and misery had set in, and is described as having been instituted in consequence of differences of character. These divisions are, it is true, alluded to as having been *previously begun* (*yăthārăbdhāh*). But the import of this phrase is not very clear; and it may only mean that men had already begun to introduce that separation of functions which the creator afterwards sanctioned and fixed. If it should be supposed that the differences of character which now gave rise to castes were conceived by the compiler of the Purāna to have been identical with, or to have flowed from, the fourfold distinctions which he had previously ascribed to the four primeval sets of a thousand pairs respectively; still he does not distinctly state that such was the case. In fact, we can scarcely imagine it to have been the Purana-writer's notion that throughout the Krita age the innate varieties of character which he had assigned to the

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[57] एवं वर्णाश्रमाणां वै प्रतिभागे कृते तदा । यदाऽस्य न व्यवर्त्तन्त प्रजा वर्णाश्रमात्मिकाः । ततोऽन्या मानसीः सोऽथ त्वेतामध्येऽसृजत् प्रजाः ॥ . . . . . ततः सत्वरजोद्रिक्ताः प्रजाः सोऽथासृजत् प्रभुः । धर्मार्थकाममोक्षाणां वार्त्तायाश्चैव साधिकाः ॥

several sets of primeval pairs had existed in them and in their descendants, but in a latent or dormant state: for this does not appear compatible with the perfect uniformity of condition which he ascribes to the whole of the then existing creatures; and he distinctly states that they had the *sattwa* quality in abundance. Is it not far more natural to conclude that the different portions of his account are really inconsistent with each other; whether from his description of the original creation having been adapted to the subsequent theory of castes, or from the narrative being made up of portions of distinct traditions thrown together without reference to their mutual congruity, or from any other cause?

## SECT. IX.—*Account of the origin of castes given by the god Vāyu; from the Măhābhārăta.*

In the S'ānti Parva of the Măhābhārăta, 72d Adhyāya, there is an account of the origin of castes which has evidently proceeded from a high-church Brahman, an extreme assertor of the dignity of the Brahmanical tribe. The description given of the prerogatives of the priestly order is precisely in the style, and partly in almost the identical words of the most extravagant declarations of Manu on the same subject, (in Book I. 99, 100.) To prove the point he wished to enforce, Bhīshma (one of the interlocutors in the poem) relates one of those ancient stories which are so commonly appealed to in the Mahābhārata. It is difficult to say whether these are always based on old traditions, or whether they may not in many cases be mere vehicles invented to convey the individual views of the compilers of that voluminous poem. "Bhīshma says: The king "should appoint to be his royal priest that man who will protect the good "and restrain the wicked. On this subject they relate this ancient story of "a conversation between Pŭrūrăvăs the son of Ilā, and Mātăriswăn (Vāyu, "the Wind-god). Pŭrūrăvăs asks: Whence was the Brahman, and whence "were the [other] three castes produced? and whence is the superiority of "the first? be pleased to tell me. Vayu answers: The Brahman was "created from the mouth of Brahmā; the Kshatriya from his arms; the "Vaiśya from his thighs; and to serve these three castes, the fourth caste "was fashioned, the Sudra sprung from his feet. The Brahman when born "is born over [? *ănŭjāyate*: Manu has *ădhijāyăte*] the earth, the lord of all "creatures, to protect the treasury of virtue. Therefore [the creator] con-"stituted the Kshatriya the controller of the earth, a second Yăma to bear "the rod, for the satisfaction of the people. And it was Brăhmā's ordi-"nance that the Vaisya should sustain these three castes with money and "corn; and that the S'ūdra should serve them. The son of Ilā [Purūravas]

" then enquires : Tell me, Vāyu, whose should the earth, with its wealth, " rightfully be, the Brahman's or the Kshatriya's ? Vāyu replies : Whatever " exists in the world belongs to the Brahman in right of primogeniture and " headship :—so those acquainted with duty know." [58] A great deal follows about the advantages of concord between Brahmans and Kshatriyas. Such verses as this : " From the dissensions of Brahmans and Kshatriyas the " people incur intolerable sufferings," [59] afford tolerably clear evidence that their interests must have often clashed.

It is worthy of remark that Purūrăvas, who is here introduced as receiving instruction, and apparently with perfect docility and submission, on the dignity and prerogatives of the Brahmanical order, is alluded to in a passage of the Bhāgăvăta Purāna (IX. 14. 48, which will be cited in the next chapter) as being connected with the origination of the fourfold division of castes ; and is spoken of, in the 75th Section of the Ādipărva [or First Book] of this same Mahābhārata, as a monarch who had been engaged in a contest with the Brahmans.

SECT. X.—*Creation of castes and priests : from the Hărivănśa.*

I proceed to cite, from the Harivansa, (Sect. 211, verses 11808 et seqq.,) an account of the origin of castes different from any yet given : " Jănă- " mējăyă speaks : I have heard the description of the Brāhmă Yuga, the " first of the ages. I desire now to be accurately informed about the

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[58] Māhābhārăta, Sānti Părva, Sect. 72, verses 2749 et seqq. य एव तु सतो रक्षेद् असतश्च निवर्त्तयेत् । स एव राज्ञा कर्त्तव्यो राजन् राजपुरोहितः अत्रापुदाहरन्तीमम् इतिहासं पुरातनम् । पुरूरवस ऐलस्य संवादं मातरिश्वनः ॥ पुरूरवा उवाच ॥ कुतः स्विद् ब्राह्मणो जातो वर्णाश्चापि कुतस्त्रयः । कस्माच्च भवति श्रेष्ठस्तन्मे व्याख्यातुमर्हसि ॥ मातरिश्वोवाच ॥ ब्रह्मणो मुखतो सृष्टो ब्राह्मणो राजसत्तम । बाहुभ्यां क्षत्रियः सृष्ट ऊरुभ्यां वैश्य एव च ॥ वर्णानां परिचर्य्यार्थं त्रयाणां भरतर्षभ । वर्णश्चतुर्थः सम्भूतः पद्भ्यां शूद्रो विनिर्मितः ॥ ब्राह्मणो जायमानो हि पृथिव्यामनुजायते । ईश्वरः सर्वभूतानां धर्मकोषस्य गुप्तये ॥ अतः पृथिव्या यन्नारं क्षत्रियं दण्डधारणे । द्वितीयं दण्डमकरोत् प्रजानामनुतृप्तये ॥ वैश्यस्तु धनधान्येन त्रीन् वर्णान् बिभृयादिमान् । शूद्रो त्रेतान् परिचरेदिति ब्रह्मानुशासनम् ॥ ऐल उवाच ॥ द्विजस्य क्षत्रबन्धोर्वा कस्येयं पृथिवी भवेत् । धर्मतः सह विप्रेन्द्र सम्यग् वायो प्रचक्ष्व मे ॥ वायुरुवाच । विप्रस्य सर्वमेवैतद् यत्किञ्चिज्जगतीगतम् । ज्येष्ठेनाभिजननेह तद् धर्मकुशला विदुः ॥

[59] Māhābhārăta, Sānti Părva, Sect. 73, verse 2802. मिथो भेदाद् ब्राह्मणक्षत्रियाणां प्रजा दुःखं दुःसहञ्चाविशन्ति ॥

" Kshatriya age." . . . . " Vaiśampāyăna answers: Those Munis of the size " of a thumb, being absorbed by the sun's rays, . . . . . when their glory " had been fulfilled at the end of a thousand Yŭgas, were involved in the " general dissolution . . . . Vishnu, sprung from Brahmā, exalted above the " power of sense, and absorbed in devotion, becomes the patriarch Daksha, " and creates numerous beings. The beautiful Brāhmans were formed " from an unchangeable element (*ăkshăra*), the Kshatriyas from a change- " able substance (*kshăra*), the Vaisyas from alteration (*vikāra*), and the " Sūdras from a modification of smoke. When Vishnu was contemplating " colours, [or castes, the word *vărna* having both significations,] Brahmans " were fashioned with white, red, yellow, and blue colours. Thence his " creatures attained in the world the state of fourfold caste, as Brahmans, " Kshatriyas, Vaiśyas, and Sūdras;—being of one type, but with different " duties, two-footed, very wonderful, full of energy, and acquainted with the " means of success in all the works they had to perform. There are declared " to be ceremonies prescribed by the Vedas for the men of the three [highest] " castes. By this union of Vishnu with Brahmā [?], by wisdom and energy, " the divine son of the Prăchētăsăs [Dăksha], who was, in fact, Vishnu the " great devotee, passed, by means of that contemplation, [or union,] into " the sphere of action. [?] Hence the Sūdras, sprung from vacuity, are " destitute of ceremonies, and so are not entitled to the rites of initiation " (*sanskāra*); nor have they a knowledge of the Vedas. Just as, upon the " friction of wood, the cloud of smoke which issues from the fire, and " spreads around, is of no service in the sacrificial rite;—so too the Sūdras " spread over the earth [are unserviceable], owing to their birth with all its " circumstances [?], to their want of initiatory rites, and the ceremonies " ordained by the Vedas." [60]

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[60] Harivansa, Sect. 211, verse 11808 (in Vol. IVth of Mahabharata, p. 848—9). जनमेजय उवाच । श्रुतं ब्रह्मयुगं ब्रह्मन् युगानां प्रथमं युगम् । क्षत्रस्यापि युगं ब्रह्मन् श्रोतुमिच्छामि तत्त्वतः ॥ . . . . . वैशम्पायन उवाच . . . . . तेऽङ्गुष्ठमात्रा मुनय आदित्याः सूर्यरश्मिभिः । . . . . . पूर्णे युगसहस्रान्ते प्रभावे प्रलयं गताः । . . . . . व्यतिरिक्तेन्द्रियो विष्णुर्योगात्मा ब्रह्मसम्भवः । दक्षः प्रजापतिर्भूत्वा सृजते विपुलाः प्रजाः ॥ अक्षराद् ब्राह्मणाः सौम्याः क्षरात् क्षत्रियबान्धवाः । वैश्या विकारतश्चैव शूद्रा धूमविकारतः ॥ श्वेतलोहितकैर्वर्णैः पीतै र्नीलैश्च ब्राह्मणाः । अभिनिर्वर्तिता वर्णाश्चिन्तयानेन विष्णुना ॥ ततो वर्णत्वमापन्नाः प्रजा लोके चतुर्विधाः । ब्राह्मणाः क्षत्रिया वैश्याः शूद्राश्चैव महीपते । एकलिङ्गाः पृथग्धर्मा द्विपादाः परमाद्भुताः ॥ यातनयाऽभिसम्पन्ना गतिज्ञाः सर्वकर्मसु ॥ त्रयाणां वर्णजातानां वेदप्रोक्ताः क्रियाः स्मृताः । तेन ब्राह्मणयोगेन वैष्णवेन मही-

I shall add another passage from a preceding part of the same work, in which the different classes of priests are said to have sprung from different parts of Vishnu's body (Sect. 200, verses 11355 et seqq.): "Vaiśampāyăna "speaks: Thus the glorious Hari Nārāyana, the Lord, covering the entire "waters, sleeps on the world which had become one ocean; in the midst of "the expanse of passion [*rajas*], vast as a sea, himself free from passion, with "mighty arms:—Brahmans know him as the undecaying (*ăkshăra*). Invested "by devotion with the light of his own form, and clothed with triple time, "[past, present, and future,] the lord then slept. Purushottama [Vishnu] "is Purusha, both sacrifice, i. e. whatever is supreme; and also whatever "else is comprehended under the appellation of Purusha. The Brahmans "devoted to sacrifice, called *ritwiks*, were formerly produced from his own "body, for sacrifice: listen to the detail: The Lord created the *brăhmā*, who "is the chief, as well as the *udgātṛi*, who chaunts the Sāma Veda, from his "mouth; and the *hotṛi* and *adhwăryu* from his arms." [The text of the next verse seems to be corrupt, but it appears to refer to four kinds of priests, the *brāhmānāchansin*, the *prastotṛi*, the *maitrāvaruna*, and the *pratishtātṛi*.] "He formed the *prătihărtṛi* and the *pōtṛi* from his belly, the *ădhyāpaka* "[quere *ăchāvāka*?] and the *neshtṛi* from his thighs, the *agnīdhra* and the "sacrificial *brahmănya* from his hands, the *grāvan* and the sacrificial *sunetṛi* "from his arms. Thus this divine lord of the world created these sixteen "excellent *ritwiks*, the expounders of all sacrifices. Hence this Purusha, "called the Veda, is composed of sacrifice; and all the Vedas, with the

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पते ॥ प्रज्ञया तेजसा योगात् तस्मात् प्राचेतसः प्रभुः। विष्णुरेव महायोगी कर्मणा-मन्तरं गतः॥ ततो निर्वाणसम्भूताः शूद्राः कर्मविवर्जिताः। तस्माद् नार्हन्ति संस्कारं न ह्यत्र ब्रह्म विद्यते ॥ यथाऽग्नौ धूमसङ्घातो ह्यरण्या मथ्यमानया। प्रादुर्भूतो विसर्पन् वै नोपयुज्यति कर्मणि ॥ एवं शूद्रा विसर्पन्तो भुवि कात्स्न्येन जन्मना। नासंस्कृतेन [न संस्कृतेन?] धर्मेण वेदप्रोक्तेन कर्मणा ॥ The true reading of the last distich and its precise construction are not very clear. The word, in a preceding verse, rendered "vacuity" is *nirvāṇa*, or extinction, the reading followed by M. Langlois in his French Version. The Calcutta printed text reads *nirmāṇa*, "construction." In place of *săṅskāra*, "initiation," which it appears that Langlois read, the Cal. edit. has *sătkāra*, "benefaction." In both cases the Calcutta readings seem to be wrong. If so, the occurrence of two false readings in one distich may give some idea of the general character of the edition. M. Langlois remarks, that no explanation occurs in the text of the unusual distinction here made between the *Brăhma Yuga* and the *Kshătra Yuga*.

"Vedāngas, Upanishads, and ceremonies, are formed of his essence." [61] The mystical character of this narrative is too obvious to require any comment.

SECT. XI.—*Another theory of castes from the Mahābhārata.*

In the Sānti Parva of the Mahābhārata, Sections 188 and 189, we find the following remarkable account of the formation of living beings. Yuddhishthira asks Bhīshma (see the beginning of the 182d Section) to describe the creation and destruction of the world, the formation of living creatures, the cause of the distinctions of caste, the rules of duty, and the destination of intelligent creatures after death. Bhīshma replies by narrating another of the "ancient stories" above alluded to, to the effect that the sage Bharadwāja, beholding the great Rishi Bhrigu sitting upon the peak of Kailāsa, had proposed to him a series of questions on these very points, and received from him a reply of which the texts now to be quoted formed a part. A comparison of this passage with the one given above from the 72d Section of the same Book, will afford an illustration of the fact that the Mahābhārata is made up of very heterogeneous elements, the products of different ages, and representing widely different dogmatical tendencies; which have been thrown together by the successive compilers or editors of the work without any regard to their mutual inconsistency. (See Lassen's

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[61] Harivansa, Sect. 200, verse 11355. एवमेकार्णवे भूते शेते लोके महाद्युतिः। प्रच्छाद्य सलिलं सर्वं हरिर्नारायणः प्रभुः॥ महतो रजसो मध्ये महार्णवसमस्य वै। विरजस्को महाबाहुरक्षरं ब्राह्मणा विदुः॥ आत्मरूपप्रकाशेन तपसा संवृतः प्रभुः। त्रिक्रमाच्छाद्य कालं तु ततः सुष्वाप सस्तदा॥ पुरुषो यज्ञ इत्येवं यत् परं परिकीर्त्तितम्। यच्चान्यत् पुरुषाख्यन्तु तत् सर्वं पुरुषोत्तमः॥ ये च यज्ञपरा विप्रा ऋत्विजा इति संज्ञिताः। आत्मदेहात् पुरा भूता यज्ञेभ्यः श्रूयतां तदा॥ ब्रह्माणं परमं वक्त्राद् उज्ञातारञ्च सामगम्। होतारमथ चाध्वर्युं बाहुभ्यामसृजत् प्रभुः॥ ब्रह्मणो ब्राह्मणत्वाच्च प्रस्तोतारञ्च सर्वशः। तं मित्रावरुणं सृष्ट्वा प्रतिष्ठातारमेव च॥ उदरात् प्रतिहर्त्तारं पोतारञ्चैव भारत। अध्यापकमथोरुभ्यां नेष्टारञ्चैव भारत॥ पाणिभ्यामथ चाग्नीध्रं ब्रह्मण्यञ्चैव यज्ञियम्॥ ग्रावाणमथ बाहुभ्यां सुनेतारञ्च याज्ञिकम्॥ एवमेवैष भगवान् षोडशैतान् जगत्पतिः। प्रवक्तॄन् सर्वयज्ञानाम् ऋत्विजोऽसृजद् उत्तमान्॥ तदेष वै यज्ञमयः पुरुषो वेदसंज्ञितः। वेदाश्च तन्मयाः सर्वे साङ्गोपनिषदक्रियाः॥ See Böhtlingk and Roth's Sanskrit and German Dictionary sub voce ऋत्विज्, where the appellations of the sixteen kinds of priests are given. See also the passage in the Sātapātha Brahmana, XII. 1. 1. 2 et seqq., there referred to.

Indische Alterthumskunde, I. 484—6, and 488—9.) A work so vast could scarcely have been the result of any other process. And some such explanation is necessary in order to render intelligible such discrepancies as we find between the two passages under consideration, of which one is the work of an extreme defender of the unapproachable dignity and exclusive prerogatives of his own priestly order, while the sections now to be cited proceed from a fair and moderate writer, who had just views of the essential unity of mankind, and of the superiority of moral distinctions to any factitious divisions of a social character.

"Bhrigu speaks: Brahmā thus formerly created the Prājāpatis, his own "sons ['Brāhmănas' is the word employed], distinguished by his own "energy, and in splendour equalling the sun and fire. The lord then "formed truth, righteousness, devotion, the eternal Veda, virtuous practice, "and purity for [the attainment of] heaven. He also formed the Devas, "Dānăvas, Găndhărvas, Daityas, Ăsŭras, Măhōrăgas, Yăkshas, Rākshăsas, "Nāgas, Piśāchas, and men, Brāhmănas, Kshatriyas, Vaiśyas, and Śūdras, "and all other tribes [or castes] of living creatures. The colour [*vărna* "meaning primarily *colour* and afterwards *caste*] of the Brāhmans was "white; that of the Kshatriyas red; that of the Vaisyas yellow; and that "of the Śūdras black.

"Bhărădwāja here rejoins: If the caste (*vărnă*) of the four castes is dis-"tinguished by their colour (*vărnă*), then we perceive in all the castes a "confusion of caste [or colour]. Desire, anger, fear, cupidity, grief, "anxiety, hunger, fatigue, prevail over all; ['sărvēshām *nă* prăbhăvăti,' "the reading of the Cal. edit. can scarcely be correct;] by what, then, is "caste distinguished? [They have in common all] the bodily secretions, "with phlegm, bile, and blood; and the bodies of them all decay: by "what, then, is caste distinguished? There are innumerable kinds of things "moving and stationary: how is the class [or caste] of all these different "classes of creatures determined?

"Bhrigu replies: There is no distinction of castes; this whole world is "from [or is formed of] Brahmā; for having been formerly created by "him, it became separated into castes in consequence of works. Those "red-limbed Brāhmans [twice born] who were fond of sensual pleasure, "fiery, irascible, prone to daring, and who had forsaken their duties, fell "into the condition of Kshattriyas. The yellow Brahmans [twice born] "who derived their livelihood from cows, and agriculture, and did not "practise their duties, fell into the state of Vaisyas. The Brahmans [twice "born] who were black, and had lost their purity, who were addicted to "violence and lying, who were covetous, and subsisted by all kinds of

" work, fell into the position of Sūdras. Being thus separated by these their " works, the Brāhmans [twice born] became of other castes. Religious cere- " monies and sacrifice have not been always forbidden to [all] these. Thus " these four castes, whose speech [Sărăswătī] is from Brăhmā [or Brahmani- " cal?] [62], were formerly instituted by Brahmā; but by their cupidity fell into " ignorance. Brahmans are dependent on the Veda (*brahma*); their devotion " does not perish, while they constantly maintain the Veda, its observances " and rules. The Veda (*brăhmă*) was created the chief of all things: they " who do not know it are no Brahmans. Of these [of those who are no " Brahmans?] there are many other classes of different sorts in different " places, Piśāchas, Rākshăsas, Pretas, various classes of Mlechhas, who " have lost all knowledge, sacred and profane, and follow whatever observ- " ances they please. Other creatures with the initiation of Brahmans, who " have ascertained their proper duties, are created by other Rishis through " their own devotion. This creation, proceeding from the primeval god, " having its root in Brahma, and imperishable, is called the mental crea- " tion, devoted to duty.

" Bhăradwāja now enquires: What constitutes a Brahman, a Kshatriya, " a Vaisya, or a Sudra? tell me, O most eloquent of Brahmanical sages.

" Bhrigu replies: He who is pure, consecrated by the natal and other " initiatory ceremonies, who duly studies the Veda, practises the six kinds " of works, and the rites of purification, who eats of offerings, is attached to " his religious teacher, is constant in austerities, and is devoted to truth,— " is called a Brahman. He in whom are seen truth, liberality, inoffensive- " ness, innocence, modesty, compassion, and devotion,—is declared to be a " Brahman. He who pursues the duties derived from the function of " protection (*Kshăttră*), who studies the Veda, and is addicted to giving " and receiving,—is called a Kshattriya. He who quickly enters among [?] " cattle, [this seems to be a play upon words, to connect the word *vaiśya* " with the root *viś*, to enter,] is addicted to agriculture, and acquisition, who " is pure, and studies the Vedas,—is called a Vaiśya. He who is unclean, " is addicted constantly to all kinds of food, performs all kinds of work, has " abandoned the Veda, and is destitute of pure observances,—is called a " Sūdra. And this is the mark of a Sudra, and it is not found in a twice- " born man: the Sudra will be a Sudra, but the Brahman not a Brah-

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[62] See Indische Studien, Vol. II. 194. note, where Dr. Weber regards this passage as intimating that at an early period of Indian history the Sūdras spoke the same language as the other castes.

"man." [63] The meaning of the last sentence is not very apparent. Is it intended to intimate that the Sudra will always act consistently with his

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[63] Mahābhārata, Sānti Parva, Sect. 188 and 189, verses 6930 et seqq. (Vol. III. pp. 609, 610). भृगुरुवाच ॥ असृजद् ब्राह्मणान् एवं पूर्वं ब्रह्मा प्रजापतीन् । आत्मतेजोभिनिर्वृत्तान् भास्कराग्निसमप्रभान् ॥ ततः सत्यञ्च धर्मञ्च तपो ब्रह्म च शाश्वतम् । आचारञ्चैव शौचञ्च स्वर्गाय विदधे प्रभुः ॥ देवदानवगन्धर्वा दैत्यासुरमहोरगाः । यक्षराक्षसनागाश्च पिशाचा मनुजास्तथा । ब्राह्मणाः क्षत्रिया वैश्याः शूद्राश्च द्विजसत्तम । ये चान्ये भूतसङ्घानां वर्णास्तांश्चापि निर्ममे ॥ ब्राह्मणानां सितो वर्णः क्षत्रियाणाञ्च लोहितः । वैश्यानां पीतको वर्णः शूद्राणामसितस्तथा ॥ भरद्वाज उवाच ॥ चातुर्वर्ण्यस्य वर्णेन यदि वर्णो विभिद्यते । सर्वेषां खलु वर्णानां दृश्यते वर्णसङ्करः ॥ कामः क्रोधो भयं लोभः शोकश्चिन्ता क्षुधा श्रमः । सर्वेषां न [?] प्रभवति कस्माद् वर्णो विभज्यते ॥ स्वेदमूत्रपुरीषाणि श्लेष्मा पित्तं सशोणितम् । तनुः क्षरति सर्वेषां कस्माद् वर्णो विभज्यते ॥ जङ्गमानामसंख्येयाः स्थावराणाञ्च जातयः । तेषां विधिविवर्णानां कुतो वर्णविनिश्चयः ॥ भृगुरुवाच ॥ न विशेषोऽस्ति वर्णानां सर्वं ब्राह्ममिदं जगत् । ब्रह्मणा पूर्वसृष्टं हि कर्मभिर्वर्णतां गतम् ॥ कामभोगप्रियास्तीक्ष्णाः क्रोधनाः प्रियसाहसाः । त्यक्तस्वधर्मा रक्ताङ्गास्ते द्विजाः क्षत्रतां गताः ॥ गोभ्यो वृत्तिं समास्थाय पीताः कृष्युपजीविनः । स्वधर्मान् नानुतिष्ठन्ति ते द्विजा वैश्यतां गताः ॥ हिंसानृतप्रिया लुब्धाः सर्वकर्मोपजीविनः । कृष्णाः शौचपरिभ्रष्टास्ते द्विजाः शूद्रतां गताः ॥ इत्येतैः कर्मभिर्व्यस्ता द्विजा वर्णान्तरं गताः । धर्मो यज्ञक्रिया तेषां नित्यं न प्रतिषिध्यते ॥ इत्येते चतुरो वर्णा येषां ब्राह्मी सरस्वती । विहिता ब्रह्मणा पूर्वं लोभात् त्वज्ञानतां गताः ॥ ब्राह्मणा ब्रह्मतत्त्वस्थास्तपस्तेषां न नश्यति । ब्रह्म धारयतां नित्यं व्रतानि नियमांस्तथा ॥ ब्रह्म चैव परं सृष्टं ये न जानन्ति तेऽद्विजाः ॥ तेषां बहुविधास्त्वन्यास्तत्र तत्र हि जातयः । पिशाचा राक्षसाः प्रेता विविधा म्लेच्छजातयः । प्रणष्टज्ञानविज्ञानाः स्वच्छन्दाचारचेष्टिताः ॥ प्रजा ब्राह्मणसंस्काराः स्वकर्मकृतनिश्चयाः । ऋषिभिः स्वेन तपसा सृज्यन्ते चापरे परैः ॥ आदिदेवसमुद्भूता ब्रह्ममूलाऽक्षयाऽव्यया । सा सृष्टिर्मानसी नाम धर्मतन्त्रपरायणा ॥ भरद्वाज उवाच ॥ ब्राह्मणः केन भवति क्षत्रियो वा द्विजोत्तम । वैश्यः शूद्रश्च विप्रर्षे तद् ब्रूहि वदतां वर ॥ भृगुरुवाच ॥ जातकर्मादिभिर्यस्तु संस्कारैः संस्कृतः शुचिः । वेदाध्ययनसम्पन्नः षट्सु कर्मस्ववस्थितः । शौचाचारस्थितः सम्यग् विघसाशी गुरुप्रियः । नित्यव्रती सत्यपरः स वै ब्राह्मण उच्यते ॥ सत्यं दानमथाद्रोह आनृशंस्यं त्रपा घृणा । तपश्च दृश्यते यत्र स ब्राह्मण इति स्मृतः ॥ क्षत्रजं सेवते कर्म वेदाध्ययनसङ्गतः । दानादानरतिर्यस्तु स वै क्षत्रिय उच्यते ॥ विशत्याशु पशुभ्यश्च कृष्यादानरतिः शुचिः । वेदाध्ययन-

own grovelling character, while the Brahman will seldom realize his own high ideal? But if so, the *tendency to sink* would be shown to be common to both.

The reader will have noticed that, although at the beginning of this passage (as in a preceding one from the Harivansa), the four castes are fancifully connected with four different colours;—yet it is subsequently declared by Bhrigu that there is no distinction (*viśesha*) of castes; and that even the Sudras are spoken of as having been originally "twice born," though they subsequently fell from their primeval condition.

SECT. XII.—*Further passages on caste: from the Măhābhărăta.*

In the passage next following, from the Ist Book of the Măhābhărăta, Sect. 57, the whole of the castes are said to have sprung from Manu; who was himself one of the sons of Vivaswat (the sun), and the grandson of Kăśyăpa, by one of the daughters of the Prăjāpati Dăksha. This tradition, which assigns to all the castes one common ancestor, removed by several stages from the creator, is, of course, in conflict with the often cited account which gives them a fourfold descent from Brahmā himself. "The "race of Manu was thence celebrated as this [family] of mankind [*mānăva*, "descended from Manu]. Brahmans, Kshattriyas, and the rest of men "were sprung from Manu. Hence arose the Brahman conjoined with the "Kshatriya. Of these the Brahmans descended from Manu were the "guardians of the Veda with the Vedāngas." [64] Nine sons of Manu are then specified, (of whom Prishădhra is characterized as "devoted to the "duties of a Kshattriya," [65]), and one daughter Ilā, the mother of Purūravas.

At the end of the *Jambūkhanda nirmāṇa* subdivision of the VIth Book [Bhīshma Parva] of the same poem, there is a passage in which (after Jămbūkhanda has been described) Sănjāya gives an account of the four Yugas; and then proceeds thus: "In the Krita age, O king, are produced "opulent and beautiful creatures, as well as Munis rich in devotion.

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सम्पन्नः स वैश्य इति संज्ञितः ॥ सर्वभक्ष्यरतिर्नित्यं सर्वकर्मकरोऽशुचिः । त्यक्तवेदस्त्वनाचारः स वै शूद्र इति स्मृतः ॥ शूद्रे चैतद् भवेल्लक्ष्यं द्विजे तच्च न विद्यते । स वै शूद्रो भवेच्छूद्रो ब्राह्मणो ब्राह्मणो न च ॥

[64] Măhābhărăta, Ādi Părvă, Sect. 75, verses 3138 et seqq. मनोर्वंशो मानवानां ततोऽयं प्रथितोऽभवत् ॥ ब्रह्मक्षत्रादयस्तस्माद् मनोर्जातास्तु मानवाः। ततोऽभवद् महाराज ब्रह्म क्षत्रेण सङ्गतम् ॥ ब्राह्मणा मानवास्तेषां वेदं साङ्गमधारयन् ॥

[65] क्षत्रधर्मपरायणम् ॥

"Energetic, magnanimous, righteous, veracious, beautiful, well formed, "powerful, bow-bearing, heroic, eminently warlike Kshatriyas are born. "In the Trētā all kings are Kshatriyas [or, *all Kshatriyas are kings*]. "Heroic Kshatriyas are born in the Tretā, long-lived, great warriors, bow-"bearing in the fight, and living in subjection. In the Dwāpara age all "castes are born, energetic, robust, striving for victory over each other. "In the *Tishya* [*Kăli*] age men of little vigour, irascible, covetous, and "mendacious, are born."[66] As it is said here that men of *all castes are born* in the Dwāpara, while Kshattriyas are mentioned as the only additional tribe produced in the previous Yuga, it is to be presumed that the writer here means to intimate that no tribes excepting Brahmans and Kshatriyas existed in the two earliest Yugas.

### SECT. XIII.—*Results of this chapter.*

The contents of this chapter have made it abundantly evident that the sacred books of the Hindus contain no uniform and uncontroverted account of the origin of castes; but, on the contrary, present the greatest varieties of opinion on this subject. Explanations mystical, mythical, etymological, and critical, are all in turn attempted: and the freest scope is given by the writers to fanciful and arbitrary conjecture.

First of all we have the mystical statement of the Purusha Sūkta, that the forefathers of the three superior castes *formed* three of the members of Purusha's body, while the servile class issued from his feet. This, the oldest extant passage in which the castes are connected with the different parts of the creator's body, seems to have given rise to all the subsequent representations to the same effect in later works. The idea which it contains is repeated, with little substantial alteration, in two texts of the Bhāgăvăta Purāna, which have been quoted above:—while, on the other hand, in passages cited from Manu, from the Vishnu Purana, and the Vāyu Purana, and in one of those extracted from the Mahābhărăta, the mystical

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[66] Mahabharata, Bhīshma Parva, Sect. 10, verses 393 et seqq. जाताः कृतयुगे राजन् धनिनः प्रियदर्शनाः। प्रजायन्ते च जाताश्च मुनयो वै तपोधनाः॥ महोत्साहा महात्मानो धार्मिकाः सत्यवादिनः। प्रियदर्शना वपुष्मन्तो महावीर्य्या धनुर्धराः॥ वराही युधि जायन्ते क्षत्रियाः शूरसत्तमाः। त्रेतायां क्षत्रिया राजन् सर्वे वै चक्रवर्त्तिनः॥ आयुष्मन्तो महावीरा धनुर्धरवरा युधि। जायन्ते क्षत्रियाः शूरास्त्रेतायां वशवर्त्तिनः॥ सर्वे वर्णा महाराज जायन्ते द्वापरे सति। महोत्साहा वीर्यवन्तः परस्परजयैषिणः॥ तेजसाऽल्पेन संयुक्ताः क्रोधनाः पुरुषा नृप। लुब्धा अनृतकाश्चैव तिष्ये जायन्ति भारत॥

character of the original Vedic text disappears, and the castes are represented as if *literally produced* from the several members of Brahmā's body. This theory is not, however, as we have seen, carried out consistently even in those works where it is most distinctly proposed; and the original division of castes, after being lost sight of during the first age of perfection, is again introduced (as we have found) at a later period in such a way as to necessitate a fresh explanation to account for its reappearance.

By two other authorities, the Hărivănsa and the Măhābhārăta, the origin of castes is etymologically connected with colours; (*vărnă*, the Sanskrit word for *caste*, meaning originally *colour*, as above intimated;)—an explanation which, however fancifully carried out in these passages, is really founded on fact: as there can be no doubt that the Ārya immigrants into India, coming from northern countries, were of fair complexion, while the aboriginal tribes, with whom they came into contact, were dark. This circumstance seems to be alluded to in the Vedic text, "He destroyed the "Dasyus, and protected the Āryan colour." [67] Again, as we have seen, attempts are made to explain the assumed characteristics of the several castes by fanciful etymologies of their respective names, the word *Kshatriya* being connected with protection, the name *Vaiśya* with agriculture and cattle, and the denomination *Śūdra* with service. In the case of the Brahman, indeed, the derivation is reasonable, as his appellation is probably connected with *brăhmă*, prayer, or sacred learning, or the Veda. [68]

Finally, we have passages of a different tenour, such as that quoted above from the Mahābhārăta, in which the distinction of castes is derived from the different characters and pursuits of the several sections of the community; or such as that other text from another part of the same work, in which men of all castes are said to be descended from Manu. In the next chapter I shall show how this tradition has been carried out in more detail.

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[67] Rig Veda, III. 34. 9.... हत्वी दस्यून् प्रार्य्यं वर्णम् आवत्। A discussion of the great mass of Rig Vedic texts bearing on the subject of caste will (as has been already intimated) be reserved for a future part of this work.

[68] See Prof. Roth's dissertation on "Brahma and the Brahmans," (Brahma und die Brahmanen,) in the 1st Vol. of the Journal of the German Oriental Society, (Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft,) pp. 66—86.

# CHAPTER II.

## LEGENDARY ACCOUNTS OF THE ORIGIN OF CASTE.

I PROCEED to notice some passages in the Puranas, or the different portions of the Mahābhārata, which are not so much of a cosmogonic character, like most of those already cited, as of a quasi-historical or legendary nature, relative to the origin of caste; and which connect its commencement with the names of some particular individuals.

The following remarks of Prof. Wilson (V. P. p. 406, note 8) will form an appropriate introduction to this chapter: "The existence of but one caste in "the age of purity, however incompatible with the legend which ascribes "the origin of the four castes to Brahmā, is every where admitted. Their "separation is assigned to different individuals, whether accurately to any "one may be doubted; but the notion indicates that the distinction was of "a social or political character."

### SECT. I.—*Notices of the rise of caste in the family of Manu Vaivaswăta, or the solar dynasty.*

The 4th Book of the Vishnu Purāna professes to record the history of the royal races, the solar and lunar, which were descended through Manu Vaivăswăta and Atri from Brahmā. "From the right thumb of Brahmā was born "the patriarch Daksha: his daughter was Adĭti, who was the mother of the "sun [Vivăswăt]. The Manu Vaivaswăta was the son of the solar orb; and "his sons were Ikshwāku, Nriga, Dhrishtha, Săryāti, Nărishyănta, Prānśu, "Nābhāga, Nēdishtha, Karūsha, and Prishădhra. Manu, being desirous "of a son, sacrificed to Mitra and Varuna; but the invocation being "wrongly performed, through the fault of the priest, a daughter, Ilā, was "born. By the favour of Mitra and Varuna, however, she became Sud-"yumna, the son of Manu. Having again, through the anger of Śiva, "become a female, she strayed near the hermitage of Bŭdha, son of the "Moon. Becoming enamoured of her, Bŭdha had by her a son called "Pŭrūravas."[1] (Wils. V. P. pp. 348—50, where the different versions of

[1] Vishnu Pur. IV. 1. 5—8. ब्रह्मणश्च दक्षिणाङ्गुष्ठजन्मा दक्षः प्रजापतिः । दक्षस्याथादितिः । अदितेर्विवस्वान् । विवस्वतो मनुः । मनोरिक्ष्वाकुनृगधृष्टशर्याति-नरिष्यनप्रांशुनाभागनेदिष्टकरूषपृषध्राख्याः पुत्रा बभूवुः ॥ इष्टिं मित्रावरुणयोर्मनुः पुत्रकामश्चकार । तत्रापहुते होतुरपचाराद् इला नाम कन्या बभूव । सैव मित्रावरुणप्रसादात् सुद्युम्नो नाम मनोः पुत्रो मैत्रयासीत् ॥ पुनश्चेश्वरकोपात् स्त्री

the names of Manu's sons, and of the story of Ilā, are given. See also Burnouf's Bhāgăvăta, Vol. III. preface, pp. LXX et seqq.). We shall return hereafter to Pŭrūrăvas, who was the progenitor of the lunar race of kings.

In regard to the sons of Manu we find in the Puranas the following particulars: "Prishădhra," the Vishnu Pur. says, "became a Sūdra in "consequence of killing his religious teacher's cow."[2] In a note (p. 351) Prof. Wilson states that there are different versions of the offence in different Puranas: "The Vāyu says he was hungry, and not only killed, but ate the "cow..."; the Bhāgavata that he was guarding the cows, and killed one by mistake, instead of the tiger, which was carrying her away: "The family "teacher cursed him, though he had transgressed involuntarily, to be in "consequence of this deed no longer a Kshatriya, but to become a Sudra."[3] The Harivansa too, states that "Prishădhra, having killed his guru's cow, "became a Sudra."[4] "The obvious purport of this legend, and of some that "follow," remarks Prof. Wilson, "is to account for the origin of the different "castes from one common ancestor." "From Kărūsha," (another son of Manu,) says the Vishnu Pur., "descended the Kārūshas, who were powerful "Kshattriyas."[5] So too the Bhāgavata: "From Kărūsha, son of Manu, sprang "the Kārūshas, of the Kshatriya caste, the protectors of the northern region, "pious and devoted to duty."[6] "From Dhrista" (another son of Manu) "sprang the Dhārshtaka race of Kshattriyas,"[7] who "attained Brahmanhood "on earth,"[8] as the Bhāgavata tells us. Another son, or grandson, of Manu

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सती सोमसूनोर्बुधस्याश्रमसमीपे बभ्राम। सानुरागश्च तस्यां बुधः पुरूरवसम् आत्मजमुत्पादयामास॥

[2] V. P. IV. 1. 12. पृषध्रस्तु पुत्रो गुरुगोवधाच्छूद्रत्वमगमत्॥

[3] Bhāgavata, IX. 2. 9. तं शशाप कुलाचार्य्यः कृतागसमकामतः। न क्षत्रबन्धुः शूद्रस्त्वं कर्मणा भविताऽसुना॥

[4] Harivansa, Sect. 9, verse 659. पृषध्रो हिंसयित्वा तु गुरोर्गां जनमेजय। शापाच्छूद्रत्वमापन्नो॥ Prishadhra was, of course, originally a Kshatriya. The Mahābhārata, I. 75. 3141, calls him क्षत्रधर्मपरायणम्, "devoted to a Ksha-"triya's duties."

[5] V. P. IV. 1. 13. करूषात् कारूषा महाबलाः क्षत्रिया बभूवुः॥

[6] Bhāg. IX. 2. 16. करूषाद् मानवाद् आसन् कारूषाः क्षत्रजातयः। उत्तरापथगोप्तारो ब्रह्मण्या धर्मवत्सलाः॥

[7] V. P. IV. 2. 2. धृष्टस्यापि धार्ष्टकं क्षत्रं समभवत्॥

[8] Bhāg. IX. 2. 17. धृष्टाद् धार्ष्टमभूत् क्षत्रं ब्रह्मभूयं गतं क्षितौ॥ On this the commentator Srīdhăra merely observes, ब्रह्मभूयं ब्राह्मणत्वम्। The word "*brăhmăbhūyă* means *brāhmăṇătwa*," (the state of a Brahman.)

was Nābhāga, who, the Vishnu Purana says, "was son of Nedistha, and "became a Vaiśya."[9] Prof. Wilson states (note 10, p. 352) that, according to the Mārkăndēya Pur., he was the son of Dishta, and was degraded to be a Vaisya, because he married a woman of that caste. The Bhāgavata also says that "another Nābhāga, the son of Dishta, became a Vaiśya by his "works."[10] The Harivansa declares that "two sons of Nābhāgārishta, "who were Vaiśyas, became Brahmans."[11] In the next Sect. of the Vish. P. another [?] Nābhāga is thus mentioned (Wilson, p. 358): "The "son of Năbhāga was Nābhāga; his son was Ambărīsha; his son was "Virūpa; from him sprang Prishădăśwa, and from him Răthīnăra. On "this subject there is this verse: These persons, descended from a Ksha- "triya stock, and afterwards known as Ăngirăsas, were the chief of the "Rathīnăras, Brahmans possessing also the character of Kshatriyas."[12] On this Prof. Wilson annotates: "The same verse is cited in the Vayu, "and affords an instance of a mixture of character, of which several similar "cases occur subsequently. Kshatriyas by birth became Brahmans by pro- "fession; and such persons are usually considered as Angirăsăs, followers "or descendants of Angiras, who may have founded a school of warrior "priests. This is the obvious purport of the legend of Nabhāga's assisting "the sons of Angiras to complete their sacrifice, referred to in a former "note, although the same authority" (the Bhāgavata Purana) "has devised "a different explanation." On this subject that authority says: "Angiras, "being solicited for progeny, begot on the wife of the childless Rathītăra "sons having the sanctity of Brahmans. These persons, being born of a "[Kshatriya's] wife, but afterwards known as the sons of Angiras, were "the chiefs of the Rathītăras, Brahmans possessing also the character of "Kshatriyas."[13] This explanation, Prof. Wilson thinks, "is an after-

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[9] V. P. IV. 1. 14. नाभागो नेदिष्टपुत्रस्तु वैश्यतामगमत् ॥

[10] Bhāg. IX. 2. 23. नाभागो दिष्टपुत्रोऽन्यः कर्मणा वैश्यतां गतः ॥

[11] Harivansa, Sect. 11, verse 658. नाभागारिष्टपुत्रौ द्वौ वैश्यौ ब्राह्मणतां गतौ ॥

[12] V. P. IV. 2. 2. नभागस्यात्मजो नाभागस्तस्याम्बरीषोऽम्बरीषस्यापि विरूपोऽभवत् । विरूपात् पृषदश्वो जज्ञे ततश्च रथीनरः । तत्रायं श्लोकः । एते क्षत्रप्रसूता वै पुनश्चाङ्गिरसः स्मृताः । रथीनराणां प्रवराः क्षत्रोपेता द्विजातयः ॥

In regard to the word *Angiras* see Böhtlingk and Roth's Sanskrit and German Dictionary sub voce; and Weber's Indische Studien, Vol. I. pp. 291 et seqq.

[13] Bhāg. IX. 6. 2, 3. रथीतरस्याप्रजस्य भार्यायां तन्तवेऽर्थितः । अङ्गिरा

"thought, not warranted by the memorial verse cited in our text." The verse in question, however, is the same with the second of the distichs I have quoted from the Bhāgăvăta, with the exception of the word *kshētra-prăsūtāh* ("born of the wife") in the latter, which is *kshătrăprăsūtāh* ("born from a Kshatriya") in the Vishnu P. If we suppose the former to be the true reading of the Vishnu P. also, (as is possible enough, there being only the difference of one vowel,) this work might be understood as alluding to the same legend as the Bhāgăvata. On the other hand, the compiler of the Bhāgavata may have followed a tradition which changed the *kshătrapră-sutah* (supposing that the original reading) into *kshētraprāsūtah*.

Among the descendants, in the 21st generation, of Ikshwāku, (the most renowned of the sons of Manu,) was Hărīta, son of Yuvanāśwa, grandson of Ambarīsha, and great-grandson of Māndhātri, of whom the Vishnu Pur. says that "from him sprang the Angirasa Hārītas."[14] On this Prof. Wilson observes (V. P. p. 369, note 3); "The commentator explains the phrase, "'the Angirasa Brahmans, of whom the Hārita family was the chief.' The "Linga reads," (see original text in the note below,) "'Harita was the "son of Yuvanaśwa, whose sons were the Hāritas; they were on the part "(or followers) of Angiras, and were Brahmans with the properties of "Kshatriyas.'[15] The Vayu has," (see note below for the text,) "'Harita "was the son of Yuvanaśwa, [from whom were] many called Hārītas; they "were sons of Angiras, and Brahmans with the properties of Kshatriyas."[16] ..... "It may be questioned if the compilers of the Puranas, or their "annotators, knew exactly what to make of this and similar phrases." The great grandfather of Harita, "... Mandhatri himself is the author of "a hymn in the Rig Veda." Mr. Colebrooke, Misc. Ess. I. 25, remarks, "Among other hymns by royal authors in the subsequent chapters of the "tenth Book of the Sanhita" [of the Rig Veda] "I remark one by Mandhā-"tri, son of Yuvanāśwa, and another by Śivi, son of Ūśīnara, a third by "Vasumanas, son of Rohidaśwa, and a fourth by Pratardana, son of Divō-"dāsa, king of Cāśī." The hymns referred to are the 134th and the 179th

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जनयामास ब्रह्मवर्चस्विनः सुतान् ॥ एते क्षेत्रे प्रसूता वै पुनस्त्वाङ्गिरसाः स्मृताः । रथीतराणां प्रवराः क्षत्रोपेता द्विजातयः ॥

[14] V. P. IV. 3. 5. तस्माद्धरितो यतोऽङ्गिरसो हारिताः ॥

[15] Linga Pur. हरितो युवनाश्वस्य हारिता यत आत्मजाः । एते ह्यङ्गिरसः पक्षे क्षत्रोपेता द्विजातयः ॥

[16] Vayu Pur. हरितो युवनाश्वस्य हारीता भूरयः स्मृताः । एते ह्यङ्गिरसः पुत्राः क्षत्रोपेता द्विजातयः ॥

of the Xth Măndala. The Rājărshi, or royal sage, Prătărdăna, is also said to be the author of the 96th hymn of the IXth Mandala. (Langlois's Rig Veda, Vol. IV. index.) Mandhātri is also mentioned in the 1st Book of the Rig Veda, hymn 112, verse 13, (Wilson's trans. I. 292,) and in the 39th hymn of the VIIIth Mandala, verse 8, (Langlois, Vol. III. p. 318.) Pratardana is alluded to, Rig Veda VI. 26. 8, as the father of Kshatraśrī, (Wils. trans. III. 436.)

Such are some of the remarkable notices given in the Puranas of the rise of different castes among the descendants of some of the sons of Manu Vaivaswăta, the legendary head of the solar line of kings. I shall now add some similar particulars regarding the lunar dynasty.

### SECT. II.—*Notices of the rise of caste in the lunar dynasty.*

Atri (according to the Vish. Pur.) was the son of Brahmā, and the father of Soma, the Moon god. The latter carried off Tārā (Star), the wife of Vrihăspăti the preceptor of the gods (and regent of the planet Jupiter); and had by her a son named Budha (the regent of Mercury). Purūrăvas, as has been already mentioned, was son of this Budha by Ilā, the daughter of Manu, (Vish. Pur. p. 350 and 392—4.) The loves of Pŭrūrăvas and the Ăpsărăs (or nymph) Urvăsi are related in the Vishnu P., IVth Book, 6th Sect. (pp. 394—7); in the Sătăpătha Brāhmana, XI. 5. 1. 1, (p. 855 et seqq. of Weber's edit.,) as translated by Müller in the Oxford Essays for 1856, pp. 62, 63; and in the Bhāgăvăta Pur., IX. 14. At the close of the narrative in the latter work the following notice occurs: "There was formerly "only one Veda, the sacred monosyllable Ōm, the essence of all speech; "only one god, Nārāyăna, one Agni (Fire), and [one] caste. From Purū-"răvas came the triple Veda (*Trăyī*) in the beginning of the Tretā age. "By Agni [whom he had taken for] his son, the king attained the heaven "of the Găndhărvas." [17] On this Srīdhăra the commentator annotates thus: "How is it that the eternal method of works, which is pointed out by "the three Vedas, and through which Brahmans and others, by worshipping "Indra and many other gods, attain to heaven, is spoken of [in the preceding "verses] as if it had a beginning in time? He [the author of the Purana] "answers this in these two verses. Formerly, i. e. in the Krita age, there "was only one Veda, the sacred monosyllable Ōm, the essence of all words,

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[17] Bhāg. Pur. IX. 14. 48, 49. एक एव पुरा वेदः प्रणवः सर्ववाङ्मयः। देवो नारायणो नान्य एकोऽग्निर्वर्ण एव च॥ पुरूरवस एवासीत् त्रयी त्रेतामुखे नृप। अग्निना प्रजया राजा लोकं गान्धर्वमेयिवान्॥

"i. e. that which is the seed of all words; and there was only one god, "Nārāyăna; and there was only one fire, that for common uses; and only "one caste, the *Hănsa*." [18] In the Mahabharata, Book I, Sect. 75, Pŭrū-răvas is mentioned as having been engaged in a contest with the Brahmans. The passage will be quoted in the next chapter. (See also pp. 34 and 44, above.)

Purūrăvas had six sons, Āyus, Dhīmăt, Amāvăsu, Viswăvăsu, Sătāyus, and Srŭtāyus. Ayus, the eldest son, had five sons, Năhŭsha, Kshătrăvriddha, Rămbha, Răji, and Anēnas. Kshatravriddha had a son Sŭhōtra, who in his turn had three sons, Kāśa, Leśa, and Ghritsămăda. (Vish. Pur. pp. 398, 406.) In regard to the last named person, the Vishnu Purana relates as follows: "From Ghritsămădă was descended Saunăka, who ori-"ginated the four castes." [19] The same circumstance is differently alluded to in the Vayu Purana: "The son of Ghritsamada was Sunaka, from whom "sprang Saunaka. In his race were born Brahmans, Kshatriyas, Vaisyas, "and Sudras, twice-born men of wonderful deeds: [or with various du-"ties?]." [20] The Harivansa, also, in Sect. 29, notices the same event thus: "The renowned Sunahotra was the son of Kshatravriddha, and had three "very righteous sons, Kāśa, Śala, and the mighty Gritsamada. The son "of Gritsamada was Śunaka, from whom sprang the Śaunakas, Brahmans, "Kshatriyas, Vaiśyas, and Sudras." [21] The same thing nearly is said in a following chapter, the 32d, in regard to Gritsămăti: "Vităth a was the "father of five sons, Suhotra, Suhotri, Gāya, Gărga, and the great Kăpila. "Suhotra had two sons, the virtuous Kāśăka, and the king Gritsămăti.

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[18] नन्वनादिर्वेदत्रयबोधितो ब्राह्मणादीनाम् इन्द्राद्यनेकदेवयजनेन स्वर्गप्राप्ति-हेतुः कर्ममार्गः कथं सादिरिव वर्ण्यते । तत्राह । एक एवेति द्वाभ्यां । पुरा कृतयुगे सर्ववाङ्मयः सर्वासां वाचां बीजभूतः प्रणव एक एव वेदः । देवश्च नारायण एक एव । अग्निश्चैक एव लौकिकः । वर्णश्चैक एव हंसो नाम ॥

[19] Vish. Pur. IV. 8. घृत्समदस्य शौनकश्चातुर्वर्ण्यप्रवर्त्तयिताऽभूत् ॥

[20] Vayu Pur. (as quoted in Wilson's Vish. Pur. p. 406, note 8). पुत्रो घृत्समदस्य च शुनको यस्य शौनकः । ब्राह्मणाः क्षत्रियाश्चैव वैश्याः शूद्रास्तथैव च । एतस्य वंशे समुद्भूता विचित्रैः कर्मभिर्द्विजाः ॥

[21] Hărivănśa, Sect. 29, verses 1518—20. क्षत्रवृद्धात्सुजस्तस्य सुनहोत्रो महा-यशाः । सुनहोत्रस्य दायादास्त्रयः परमधार्मिकाः । काशः शलश्च द्वावेतौ तथा गृत्समदः प्रभुः । पुत्रो गृत्समदस्यापि शुनको यस्य शौनकाः । ब्राह्मणाः क्षत्रियाश्चैव वैश्याः शूद्रास्तथैव च ॥

" The sons of the latter were Brahmans, Kshatriyas, and Vaisyas." [22] The Bhāgavata Purana has the following notice of Kshatravriddha's descendants: " Suhotra, son of Kshatravriddha, had three sons, Kāśya, Kuśa, and Gritsa-" măda. From the last sprang Śunăka, and from him Śaunăka, the eminent " muni, skilled in the Rig Veda." [23]

It is to be noted that Gritsamada, the person named in these passages, is the reputed author of many hymns in the 2d Măṇḍăla of the Rig Veda. In regard to him, Sāyăna remarks as follows in his introduction to that Book: " The seer [i. e. he who received the revelation] of this Măndăla was " the Rishi Gritsamăda. He, being formerly the son of Śunahotra of the " race of the Āngĭrăsas, was seized by the Asuras, at the time of sacrifice, " and rescued by Indra. Afterwards, by Indra's command, he became " Gritsamada, son of Śunaka, in the race of Bhrigu. Thus the index to " the Veda says of him: 'He who, being the son of Śunahotra of the race of " Angiras, became the son of Śunaka of the race of Bhrigu, this Gritsamada " saw the second Mandala.' So the same Śaunaka, whose words, *Thou,* " *o Agni,* are found in the list of Rishis, is Gritsamada Śaunaka, who " became a Bhrigu, being naturally the son of Śunahotra, and an Āngirăsa. " Hence the Rishi of the Măndăla is Gritsamada the son of Śunaka [or " Śaunaka]." [24] See Prof. Wilson's translation of the Rig Veda, Vol. II. pp. 207, 208; where another story from the Anuśāsana, (or 13th) Book of the Mahābhārata, about the parentage of Gritsamada, is referred to. The story is told by Bhīshma to Yudhishthĭra, and begins thus: " Hear, O king, how

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[22] Hărivănśa, Sect. 32, verse 1732. स चापि वितथः पुत्रान् जनयामास पञ्च वै। सुहोत्रञ्च सुहोतारं गयं गर्गं तथैव च। कपिलञ्च महात्मानं सुहोत्रस्य सुतत्रयम्। क्राशकश्च महासत्त्वस्तथा गृत्समतिर्नृपः। तथा गृत्समतेः पुत्रा ब्राह्मणाः क्षत्रिया विशः॥

[23] Bhāg. Pur. IX. 17. 2, 3. क्षत्रवृद्धसुतस्यासन् सुहोत्रस्यात्मजास्त्रयः। काश्यः कुशो गृत्समद इति गृत्समदादभूत्। शुनकः शौनको यस्य बह्वृचः प्रवरो मुनिः॥

[24] Sāyăna's Commentary to Rig Veda (p. 415 of Vol. II, Müller's edit.) at the beginning of the 2d Măndăla. मण्डलद्रष्टा गृत्समद ऋषिः। स च पूर्वम् आङ्गिरसकुले शुनहोत्रस्य पुत्रः सन् यज्ञकालेऽसुरैर्गृहीत इन्द्रेण मोचितः। पश्चात् तद्वचनेनैव भृगुकुले शुनकपुत्रो गृत्समदनामाऽभूत्। तथा चानुक्रमणिका। य आङ्गिरसः शौनहोत्रो भूत्वा भार्गवः शौनकोऽभवत् स गृत्समदो द्वितीयं मण्डलमपश्यदिति। तथा तस्यैव शौनकस्य वचनम् ऋष्यनुक्रमणे त्वमग्ने इति गृत्समदः शौनको भृगुतां गतः। शौनहोत्रः प्रकृत्या तु य आङ्गिरस उच्यत इति। तस्माद् मण्डलद्रष्टा शौनको गृत्समद ऋषिः॥

"the renowned Vītăhăvya, the royal Rishi, attained the rarely-attainable "state of Brahmanhood, venerated by mankind." [25] Divōdāsa, king of Kāśi [Benares], was attacked by the sons of Vītăhăvya, and all his family slain by them in battle. He resorted to the sage Bhărădwāja, who performed a sacrifice, in the virtue of which a son, named Prătărdăna, was born to the king. Being an accomplished warrior, Pratardana was sent by his father to take vengeance on the Vitahavyas. They rained on him showers of arrows, and other missiles, "as clouds pour down on the Himalaya;" [26] but he destroyed them all; and they "lay, their bodies besmeared with "blood, like *kinsuka* trees cut down." [27] On this, Vitahavya himself fled to another sage, Bhrigu, who promised him protection. The avenger, Pratardana, however followed, and demanded that Vitahavya should be delivered up, saying; . . . . . "'By the slaughter of this foe I shall become "acquitted of my debt to my father.' Bhrigu, the most eminent of holy "men, filled with compassion, answered, 'There is no Kshatriya here, all "these are Brahmans.' Prătărdăna, hearing this true declaration of Bhrigu, "touching his feet, uttered these words with satisfaction, 'Even in this "way, O divine sage, I am satisfied; . . . . . for I have compelled this king "to relinquish his caste.' King Pratardana, being permitted by the sage, "took his departure, as he came, like a snake which has discharged its "poison; and Vitahavya, by the mere word of Bhrigu, became a Brahman-"rishi, and an utterer of the Veda. Gritsamada, in form like another "Indra, was his son;—he was restrained by the Daityas, who said to him, "thou art Sākra [Indra]. He had a most eminent knowledge [*srŭti*] of "the Rig Veda. There this Gritsămăda is magnified by Brahmans: he "was the illustrious Gritsamada, a Brahmachārī and a Brahman-rishi." [28]

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[25] Mahābhārata, Anuśāsăna Parva, Sect. 30, verses 1944—2006. शृणु राजन् यथा राजा वीतहव्यो महायशाः । राजर्षिर्दुर्लभं प्राप्तो ब्राह्मण्यं लोकसत्कृतम् ॥

[26] अभ्यवर्षन्त राजानं हिमवन्तमिवाम्बुदाः ॥ This indicates a familiarity with the manner in which clouds collect, and discharge their contents on the outer range of the Himālăya.

[27] अपतन् रुधिरार्द्राङ्गा निकृत्ता इव किंशुकाः ॥ The *kinśuka* is a tree bearing a red blossom, (Butea frondosa.)

[28] अस्येदानीं बधाद् अद्य भविष्याम्यनृणः पितुः । तमुवाच कृपाविष्टो भृगुर्धर्मभृतांवरः । नेहास्ति क्षत्रियः कश्चित् सर्वे हीमे द्विजातयः । एतच्तु वचनं श्रुत्वा भृगोस्तथ्यं प्रतर्हनः । पादावुपस्पृश्य शनैः प्रहृष्टो वाक्यमब्रवीत् । एवमप्यस्मि भगवन् कृतकृत्यो न संशयः । . . . . त्याजितो हि मया जातिमेष राजा भृगूद्वह ।

According to the enumeration of Gritsamada's family here given, Śunaka was his descendant in the 12th generation, and Śaunaka in the 13th. "Thus by the favour of Bhrigu did the king Vītahavya, a Kshatriya, "become a Brahman." [29]

King Divodāsa was the 6th in descent from Kāśa, brother of Gritsamada. Of him the Harivansa states, Sect. 32, "The son of Divodāsa was the king "Mitrayu, a Brahman-rishi. From him sprang Soma Maitrāyāna, from "whom arose the family known as the Maitrēyas: they, having the cha- "racter of Kshatriyas, assumed the part of descendants of Bhrigu." [30]

The 20th in descent from the same Kāśa, brother of Gritsamada, was Bhārgabhūmi, of whom the Vish. Pur. relates: "Bhārga's son was Bhārga- "bhūmi, from whom the system of four castes originated." [31] The Hărivanśa alludes to the same event in *two* different places, (if this inference may be drawn from the identity of the names): first, in Sect. 29, in these words: "The son of Venuhotra was the king Bharga. Vatsabhumi was "[the descendant] of Vatsa, and Bhrigubhūmi of Bhārgăva. These children "of Angiras were afterwards born in the family of Bhrigu, Brahmans, Ksha- "triyas, and Vaisyas, three sorts of descendants, in thousands." [32] The

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ततस्तेनाभ्यनुज्ञातो ययौ राजा प्रतर्दनः । यथागतं महाराजो मुक्त्वा विषमिवोरगः । भृगोर्वचनमात्रेण स च ब्रह्मर्षितां गतः । वीतहव्यो महाराज ब्रह्मवादित्वमेव च । तस्य गृत्समदः पुत्रो रूपेणेन्द्र इवापरः । शक्रस्त्वमिति यो दैत्यैर्निगृहीतः किला- भवत् । ऋग्वेदे वर्त्तते चाग्र्या श्रुतिर्यस्य महात्मनः । यत्र गृत्समदो ब्रह्मन् ब्राह्मणैः स महीयते । स ब्रह्मचारी विप्रर्षिः श्रीमान् गृत्समदोऽभवत् ॥ The author of hymn 15th of the 6th Mandala of the Rig Veda is said by Sāyăna to be either Vītahavya or Bhărădwāja; and the name of the former person occurs there, in the 2d verse. It also appears from M. Langlois's French translation of the R. V. that Vitahavya is the reputed Rishi of the 91st hymn of the 10th Mandala.

[29] एवं विप्रत्वमगमद् वीतहव्यो नराधिपः । भृगोः प्रसादाद् राजेन्द्र क्षत्रियः क्षत्रियर्षभ ॥

[30] Harivansa, Sect. 32, verses 1789—90. दिवोदासस्य दायादो ब्रह्मर्षिर्मि- त्रयुर्नृपः । मैत्रायणस्ततः सोमो मैत्रेयास्तु ततः स्मृताः । एते वै संश्रिताः पक्षं क्षत्रोपेतास्तु भार्गवाः ॥

[31] Vish. Pur. IV. Sect. 8. भार्गस्य भार्गभूमिरितश्चातुर्वर्ण्यप्रवृत्तिः ॥

[32] Harivansa, Sect. 29, verses 1596 et seqq. वेणुहोत्रसुतश्चापि भर्गो नाम प्रजेश्वरः । वत्सस्य वत्सभूमिस्तु भृगुभूमिस्तु भार्गवात् । एते ह्यङ्गिरसः पुत्रा जाता वंशेऽथ भार्गवे । ब्राह्मणाः क्षत्रिया वैश्यास्त्रयः पुत्राः सहस्रशः ॥

second passage is in the 32d Section, and may also be quoted, as it adds Śūdras to the other three classes: "The warrior Sătyăkētu was the son of "Sukumāra, and was a prince of great energy and virtue. Vatsabhūmi was "[the descendant] of Vatsa, and Bhārgabhumi of Bhārgăva. These children "of Angiras were afterwards born in the family of Bhrigu, Brahmans, Kshatriyas, Vaisyas, and Śūdras." [33] The parallel passage in the Vāyu Purana is nearly to the same purport: "The son of Veṇuhotra was the celebrated "Gārgya: Gargabhūmi was the son of Gārgya, and Vatsa of the wise Vatsa. "Virtuous Brahmans and Kshatriyas were the sons of these two." [34]

One of the brothers of Kshattravriddha (whose descendants have just been occupying our attention) was called Năhŭsha. He had six sons, of whom one was Yăyāti. The sons of the latter were Yădu, Tŭrvăsu, Drŭhya, Ănu, and Pŭrŭ. (Wils. V. P. p. 413). Aprătĭrătha is recorded as being a descendant of Pŭrŭ in the thirteenth generation. (Vish. P. p. 448). Of him it is there related: "From Aprătirătha sprang Kăṇwa; from him Mēdhātĭthi, "from whom the Kāṇwāyana Brahmans were descended." [35] Similarly the Bhāgavata Pur. says: "Kănwa was the son of Apratiratha, and Kănwa's "son was Medhātithi, from whom were descended Praskăṇwa and other "Brahmans." [36] A little further on, in the same chapter of the Vishnu P., Kăṇwa and Medhatithi are mentioned as having a different parentage, viz. as being the son and grandson of Ajamīḍha, who was descended in the 9th generation from Tănsu, brother of Apratiratha: "From Ajamīdha "[sprang] Kaṇwa; and from him Medhatithi, from whom [were descended] "the Kāṇwānaya Brahmans." [37] In regard to Ajamīḍha the Bhāg. Purana

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[33] Harivansa, Sect. 32, verses 1752 et seqq. सुकुमारस्य पुत्रस्तु सत्यकेतुर्महारथः । सुतोऽभवद् महातेजा राजा परमधार्मिकः । वत्सस्य वत्सभूमिस्तु भार्गभूमिस्तु भार्गवात् । एते ह्यङ्गिरसः पुत्रा जाता वंशेऽथ भार्गवे । ब्राह्मणाः क्षत्रिया वैश्याः शूद्राश्च भरतर्षभ ॥

[34] Vayu Pur. (as quoted by Prof. Wilson, Vish. Pur. p. 409, note 16). वेणुहोत्रसुतश्चापि गार्ग्यो वै नाम विश्रुतः । गार्ग्यस्य गर्गभूमिस्तु वत्सो वत्सस्य धीमतः । ब्राह्मणाः क्षत्रियाश्चैव तयोः पुत्राः सुधार्मिकाः ॥

[35] Vish. Pur. Book IV. Sect. 19. अप्रतिरथात् कण्वस्तस्यापि मेधातिथिर्यतः काण्वायना द्विजा बभूवुः ॥

[36] Bhāg. Pur. IX. 20. 6, 7. . . . . कण्वोऽप्रतिरथात्मजः । तस्य मेधातिथिस्तस्मात् प्रस्कण्वाद्या द्विजातयः ॥

[37] Vish. Pur. IV. 19. अजमीढात् कण्वः कण्वात् मेधातिथिर्यतः काण्वायना द्विजाः ॥ On the last passage Prof. Wilson remarks: "The copies agree

says: "The descendants of Ajamīḍha were Priyămēdha and other Brah-"mans." [38] The Vishnu P. also mentions another descendant of Aja-mīḍha, in the 7th generation, named Mudgăla, from whom sprang the Maudgalya Brahmans (V. P. p. 454). In regard to them Prof. Wilson quotes a text from the Mātsya Purana to this effect: "From Mudgala were "descended the Maudgalyas, Brahmans with the character of Kshatriyas. "These Kaṇwas and Mudgalas were on the part of the Angirasas." [39] The Harivansa thus notices the same family: "The renowned Maudgălya was "the son of Mudgala. All these high souled persons were Brahmans with "the character of Kshatriyas. These Kāṇwas and Mudgalas adhered to "the side of Angiras. The eldest son of Maudgălya was an illustrious "Brahman-rishi." [40]

As Pŭrŭ (the progenitor of these persons) was of a Kshatriya stock, (that of Purūravas,) we thus find that authors of the Vedic hymns, like Kaṇwa and Medhātithi, were descended from a race not originally Brahmanical. (Wilson, V. P. p. 448, note 11.)

In regard to Kshēmăka, another descendant of Ajamīḍha, in the 31st generation, and of Janamejaya (an alleged contemporary of the Mahā-bhārăta war), in the 26th generation, the Vishnu Pur. has the following distich: "The race which gave origin to Brahmans and Kshatriyas, and "was purified by regal sages, shall terminate with Kshemaka in the Kali "age." [41]

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"in this reading, yet it can scarcely be correct. Kaṇwa has already been "noticed, as the son of Apratiratha." (p. 452, note 26.) And yet the compiler of the Purana may here be merely repeating the discrepant accounts which he found in the older authorities which he had before him.

[38] Bhāg. Pur. IX. 21. 21. अजमीढस्य वंश्याः स्युः प्रियमेधादयो द्विजाः ॥

[39] Mātsya Pur. (quoted by Prof. Wilson, p. 454, note 50). मुद्गलस्यापि मौद्गल्याः क्षत्रोपेता द्विजातयः । एते ह्यङ्गिरसः पक्षे संस्थिताः कण्वमुद्गलाः ॥

[40] Harivansa, Sect. 32, verses 1781—2. मुद्गलस्य तु दायादो मौद्गल्यः सुमहायशाः । एते सर्वे महात्मानः क्षत्रोपेता द्विजातयः ॥ एते ह्यङ्गिरसः पक्षं संश्रिताः कण्वमुद्गलाः । मौद्गल्यस्य सुतो ज्येष्ठो ब्रह्मर्षिः सुमहायशाः ॥

[41] Vish. Pur. IV. Sect. 21. ब्रह्मक्षत्रस्य यो योनिर्वंशो राजर्षिसत्कृतः । क्षेमकं प्राप्य राजानं संस्थां प्राप्स्यति वै कलौ ॥ The Matsya and Vayu Puranas have, Prof. Wilson tells us, the same memorial verse, which, they say, had been "recited by ancient Brahmans" (गीतो विप्रैः पुरातनैः). They also exhibit the reading देवर्षिसत्कृतः, "purified by *divine* sages," instead of राजर्षिसत्कृतः, "purified by *regal* sages."

In the line of the same ancestor, Tansu, brother of Apratiratha, we find, in the 6th generation, Gărga, of whom the Vishnu Pur. relates: "From "Gărga sprang Sĭni; from him were descended the Gārgyas and Sainyas, "who, having the character of Kshatriyas, became Brahmans." [42] The commentator, quoted by Prof. Wilson, p. 451, note 20, says, "From some "cause they became Brahmans;" [43] without furnishing further explanation. In the same way the Bhāg. Pur. states, "From Garga sprang Sĭni; and "from him Gārgya, who from a Kshatriya became a Brahman." [44] The Vish. Pur. records thus another similar fact regarding the family of Măhāvīrya, brother of Garga: "Mahāvīrya had a son named Urukshăyī, who had "three sons, Trăyāruna, Pushkari, and Kăpi. These three afterwards "attained to Brahmanhood." [45] Of these same three persons the Bhāg. Pur. also says that "they attained the state of Brahmans." [46] This the commentator explains thus: "Being born in a Kshatriya family they ob-"tained the form of Brahmans." [47]

In the Vishnu Pur. (IV. 18, p. 444 of Wilson's trans.) we find the following notice of Bălĭ, one of the descendants, in the 12th generation, of Anu, brother of Puru, of the race of Purūrăvas: "The son of Hēma was Sutăpas. "From him sprang Bali, on whose wife (*kshētra*) Kshatriyas of the race "of Bali, named Anga, Văngа, Kălinga, Sŭhma, and Pŭṇḍra were begotten "by Dirghătămăs." [48] Prof. Wilson (in p. 445, note 12) refers to a passage in the Matsya Purana, in which Bali is said to have obtained from Brahmā the boon "that he should establish the four fixed castes." [49] He also quotes from the Vāyu Pur. the words referring to the same person, which signify that he had "sons who gave rise to the system of four castes." [50]

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[42] Vish. Pur. IV. Sect. 19. गर्गाच्छिनिस्ततो गार्ग्याः शैन्याः क्षत्रोपेता द्विजातयो बभूवुः ॥

[43] Commentator on Vish. Pur. IV. 19. केनचित् कारणाद् ब्राह्मणाश्च बभूवुः ॥

[44] Bhāg. Pur. IX. 21. 19. गर्गाच्छिनिस्ततो गार्ग्यः क्षत्राद् ब्रह्म ह्यवर्त्तत ॥

[45] Vish. Pur. IV. 19. महावीर्य्याद् उरुक्षयी नाम पुत्रोऽभूत् । तस्य त्रय्यारुणपुष्करिणौ कपिश्च पुत्रत्रयमभूत् । तच्च त्रितयमपि पश्चाद् विप्रतामुपाजगाम ॥

[46] Bhāg. Pur. IX. 21. 19. . . . . ये ब्राह्मणगतिं गताः ॥

[47] Commentator on Bhāg. Pur. IX. 21. 19. कथम्भूता ये अत्र क्षत्रवंशे ब्राह्मणगतिं ब्राह्मणरूपतां गतास्ते ॥

[48] Vish. Pur. IV. 18. हेमात् सुतपास्तस्माद् बलिर्यस्य क्षेत्रे दीर्घतमसाऽङ्गवङ्गकलिङ्गसुह्मपुण्ड्राख्यं बालेयं क्षत्रमजन्यत ॥

[49] Matsya Pur. चतुरो नियतान् वर्णांस्त्वं स्थापयेति ॥

[50] Vayu Pur. पुत्रान् चातुर्वर्ण्यकरान् ॥

The Hărivănsă has the following version of the same legend: "From Phena "sprang Sŭtăpăs; and the son of Sutapas was Băli. This king, with the "golden quiver, was born of a human mother, but had formerly been the "king Bali, a great ascetic. He begot five sons, the heads of families upon "earth. Anga was first born, then Vănga, Sŭhma, Pŭṇdra, and Kălinga: "such are the names of the Bālēya Kshatriyas [i. e. the Kshatriyas of "Bali's race]. There were also Bālēya Brahmans [i. e. Brahmans de-"scended from Bali], progenitors of his race upon the earth. A boon was "conferred on Băli by Brahmā, who was pleased with him, that he should "be a great devotee, that he should live the whole length of a *Kalpa*, that "he should be invincible in battle, and be most eminent in virtue, that he "should have a vision of the whole three worlds, and should beget the "most numerous progeny, that he should be unequalled in strength, and "should comprehend the principles of duty: and being addressed by the "Lord in these words, 'Thou shalt establish the four regulated castes,' "king Bali attained supreme tranquillity. All these sons of Bali were "begotten on his wife Sŭdēshṇā, by the glorious Muni Dīrghatăpăs." [51]

The series of passages just quoted is amply sufficient to prove that, according to the traditions received by the compilers of the ancient legendary history of India, (traditions so general and undisputed as to prevail over even their strong hierarchical prepossessions), Brahmans and Kshatriyas were, at least in many cases, originally descended from one and the same

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[51] Harivansa, Sect. 31, verses 1682—88. फेनात्तु सुतपा जज्ञे सुतः सुतपसो बलिः। जातो मानुषयोनौ तु स राजा काञ्चनेषुधिः। महायोगी स तु बलिर्बभूव नृपतिः पुरा। पुत्रान् उत्पादयामास पञ्च वंशकरान् भुवि। अङ्गः प्रथमतो जज्ञे वङ्गः सुह्मस्तथैव च। पुण्ड्रः कलिङ्गश्च तथा बालेयं क्षत्रमुच्यते। बालेया ब्राह्मणाश्चैव तस्य वंशकरा भुवि। बलेस्तु ब्रह्मणा दत्तो वरः प्रीतेन भारत। महायोगित्वमायुश्च कल्पस्य परिमाणतः। संग्रामे चाप्यजेयत्वं धर्मे चैव प्रधानता। त्रैलोक्यदर्शनञ्चापि प्राधान्यं प्रसवे तथा। बले चाप्रतिमत्वं वै धर्मतत्त्वार्थदर्शनम्। चतुरो नियतान् वर्णांस्त्वञ्च स्थापयितेति ह। इत्युक्तो विभुना राजा बलिः शान्तिं परां ययौ। तस्यैते तनयाः सर्वे क्षेत्रजा मुनिपुङ्गवात्। सम्भूता दीर्घतपसः सुदेष्णायां महौजसः॥ M. Langlois must have found a different reading in his MSS. of the last line, as he renders it differently. Prof. Wilson remarks (Vish. Pur. p. 444, note 12); "The Matsya calls Bali the son of Virochana, "and आयुःकल्पप्रमाणिकः। 'existing for a whole Kalpa;' identifying him "therefore, only in a different period and form, with the Bali of the Vāmăna "Avatāra." (dwarf-incarnation. See Vish. Pur. p. 265, note 22; and Bhāg. Pur. IX. Sections 15—23.)

stock. The European critic can have no difficulty in receiving these obscure accounts as true in their literal sense; though the absence of precise historical data may leave him without any other guide than speculation to assist him in determining the process by which a community originally composed for the most part of one uniform element, was broken up into different ranks and professions, separated from each other by impassable barriers. On the other hand, the possibility of this common origin of the different castes, though firmly based on tradition, appeared in later times so incredible, or so unpalatable, to some of the compilers of the Puranas, that we find them attempting to explain away the facts which they record, by statements such as we have encountered in the case of the kings Rathītara and Bāli, that their progeny was begotten upon their wives by the sages Angiras and Dīrghătămăs or Dīrghătăpăs; or by the introduction of a miraculous element into the story, as we have already seen in one of the legends regarding Gritsamada, and as we shall have occasion to notice in the next chapter in the account of Viśwāmitra.

A few words may be added regarding the mythical chronology (or rather absence of chronology) of the events which have been adverted to in this chapter. The distribution of the different reigns, says Prof. Wilson (Vish. Pur. preface, p. LXIV), "amongst the several Yugas, undertaken by Sir "William Jones or his Pandits, finds no countenance from the original "texts, further than an incidental notice of the age in which a particular "monarch ruled, or the general fact that the dynasties prior to Krishna "precede the time of the great war, and the beginning of the Kali age." Prof. Lassen remarks (Indische Alterthumskunde, I. p. 500), "The earlier "kings are placed in the two preceding ages, [the Tretā and the Dwāpăra,] "while the patriarchs belong to the first", [the Krita or Satya age]. We have already seen (p. 48) that Purūravas is incidentally placed by the Bhāgăvăta Pur. (IX. 14, verses 43 and 49) in the beginning of the Tretā. The Mahābhārata (Book I. 2. 272) specifies the end of the same Yuga as the era when the Kshatriyas were destroyed by Părăśu Rāma: "In the junction of the "Tretā and Dwāpara, Rāma, the chief of warriors, impelled by fury, slaughtered again and again the Kshatriya rulers. He, resplendent as fire, "having by his might destroyed them all, formed in Sămăntăpănchăka five "lakes of blood." [52] The sage Viswāmitra is referred to the same era, Măhābhărăta, Book XII. verses 5330 &c.: "Here too they relate an ancient

[52] Mahabharata, I. 2. 272 et seqq. त्रेताद्वापरयोः सन्धौ रामः शस्त्रभृतां वरः। असकृत् पार्थिवं क्षत्रं जघानामर्षचोदितः। स सर्वं क्षत्रमुत्साद्य स्ववीर्येणानलद्युतिः। समन्तपञ्चके पञ्च चकार रौधिरान् ह्रदान्॥

" story of a conversation in a cottage between Viśwāmitra and a Chāndāla. " At the junction of the Tretā and Dwāpara there happened, according to " the ordination of the gods, a dreadful drought of twelve years' dura- " tion, &c." [53] (See Lassen's Ind. Alt. I. 501, note.)

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# CHAPTER III.

## EARLY CONTESTS BETWEEN THE BRAHMANS AND KSHATRIYAS.

I PROCEED to give some illustrations of the struggle which occurred in the early ages of Hindu history between the Brahmans and the Kshatriyas, before their respective provinces had been accurately defined by custom; when each class was ready to encroach upon the prerogatives claimed as its exclusive birthright by the other.

### SECT. I.—*Manu's summary of refractory monarchs.*

In the Institutes of Manu we find the following passage (VII. 38—42) alluding to what the lawgiver regards as the impious resistance of certain monarchs to the legitimate influence of the priesthood: " 38. Let the king " constantly reverence ancient Brahmans, skilled in the Vedas, and of pure " character: for he who respects the aged is continually honoured even by " the Rākshasas. 39. Let him, even though humble-minded, be ever " learning submissiveness from them: for a submissive king never perishes. " 40. Through want of submissiveness many kings have been destroyed, " with all their retinue: while by humility even hermits have obtained " kingdoms. 41. Veṇa was destroyed by want of submissiveness; and so " too was king Nāhŭsha, and Sŭdās the son of Piyăvăna, and Sŭmŭkha, " and Nĭmĭ. 42. But through submissiveness Prĭthu and Mănu attained

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[53] Mahabharata, XII. verses 5330 et seqq. अत्राप्युदाहरन्तीममितिहासं पुरातनम् । विश्वामित्रस्य संवादं चाण्डालस्य पक्वणे । त्रेताद्वापरयोः सन्धौ तदा देवविधिक्रमात् । अनावृष्टिरभूद् घोरा लोके द्वादशवार्षिकी ॥

" kingly power, Kŭvēra, the lordship of wealth, and the son of Gādhi,
" Brahmanhood." [1]

On the last line the commentator Kŭllūka Bhăṭṭa remarks : " Viśwāmitra " the son of Gādhi, being a Kshatriya, obtained Brahmanhood in the same " body. The attainment of Brahmanhood by one who was at that time a " king, though an uncommon event, is mentioned to show the excellence " of submissiveness. By submissiveness, as exemplified in the observance " of scriptural injunctions, and in abstinence from things forbidden, he, " though a Kshatriya, obtained Brahmanhood, so difficult to acquire." [2]

In another Book, the IXth (verses 66—7), Manu again refers to Veṇa : " 66. This custom [of raising up seed to a deceased brother or kinsman " through his widow], fit only for cattle, and blamed by learned Brahmans, " was declared to be [the law] for men also, when Veṇa held sway. 67. This " chief of royal Rishis, who in former times ruled over the whole earth, " having his reason destroyed by passion, gave rise to a confusion of " classes." [3]

The histories of the most of these kings, thus stigmatised or celebrated by Manu, can be traced in the Puranas and other parts of Indian literature. I shall begin with Veṇa.

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[1] Manu, VII. 38—42. वृद्धांश्च नित्यं सेवेत विप्रान् वेदविदः शुचीन्। वृद्धसेवी हि सततं रक्षोभिरपि पूज्यते ॥३८॥ तेभ्योऽधिगच्छेद् विनयं विनीतात्माऽपि नित्यशः। विनीतात्मा हि नृपतिर्न विनश्यति कर्हिचित् ॥३९॥ बहवोऽविनयान् नष्टा राजानः सपरिच्छदाः। वनस्था अपि राज्यानि विनयात् प्रतिपेदिरे ॥४०॥ वेणो विनष्टोऽविनयाद् नहुषश्चैव पार्थिवः। सुदाः पैयवनश्चैव सुमुखो निमिरेव च ॥४१॥ पृथुस्तु विनयाद् राज्यं प्राप्तवान् मनुरेव च। कुबेरश्च धनैश्वर्यं ब्राह्मण्यञ्चैव गाधिजः ॥४२॥ In support of the reading सुदाः पैयवनश्चैव, adopted in verse 41, see L. Deslongschamps's note, pp. 437—8 of his edition of Manu.

[2] Part of commentary of Kullūka on Manu, VII. 41. गाधिपुत्रो विश्वामित्रश्च क्षत्रियः सन् तेनैव देहेन ब्राह्मण्यं प्राप्तवान्। राज्यलाभावसरे ब्राह्मण्यप्राप्तिरप्रस्तुताऽपि विनयोत्कर्षार्थमुक्ता। ईदृशोऽयं शास्त्रानुष्ठाननिषिद्धवर्जनरूपविनयोदयेन क्षत्रियोऽपि दुर्लभं ब्राह्मण्यं लेभे ॥

[3] Manu, IX. 66—7. अयं द्विजैर्हि विद्वद्भिः पशुधर्मो निगर्हितः। मनुष्याणामपि प्रोक्तो वेणे राज्यं प्रशासति ॥६६॥ स महीमखिलां भुञ्जन् राजर्षिप्रवरः पुरा। वर्णानां सङ्करं चक्रे कामोपहतचेतनः ॥६७॥

### SECT. II.—*Legend of Veṇa.*

A prince of this name is mentioned in various hymns of the Rig Veda. In the 10th verse of the 9th hymn of the VIIIth, and in the 5th verse of the 148th hymn of the Xth, Mandala, he is alluded to as the father of Prithī; —Prithī being, in the latter case, the recognised author of the hymn. In the 93rd hymn of the same Mandala, verse 14, Vena is eulogized along with Duhsīma, Prithăvāna, and Rāma. (See M. Langlois's French translation of the Rig Veda, Vol. III. p. 219, and Vol. IV. pp. 350, 445, and 467.) Prithī is also mentioned in Rig Veda, I. 112. 15, and the commentator alludes to him as "a royal Rishi, son of Vena." [4]

In the Śătăpătha Brāhmăna, V. 3. 5. 4 (p. 454 of Weber's edit.), "Prithī "the son of Vena" is mentioned as "the first of men who was inaugurated "as king." [5] (See Indische Studien, I. 221—2.)

The legend of Vena is narrated in the Vishnu Purana, Book I. Sect. 13. He was the son of Ănga, and the descendant, in the 9th generation, of the first Manu, Swāyămbhŭva; the line of ancestors from the latter downwards being as follows:—1st, Uttānăpāda; 2d, Dhrŭva; 3d, Śishti; 4th, Rĭpu; 5th, Chăkshŭsha; 6th, the sixth Manu, Chākshusha; 7th, Ŭrŭ; 8th, Anga, father of Veṇa. (See Wils., Vish. Pur., pp. 52, 86, and 98.) Vena thus belongs, according to the Vishnu Purana, at least, to a mythical age preceding, by an enormous interval, that of the descendants of the Manu Vaivăswăta mentioned in the preceding chapter of this work;—five Mănwăntărăs or periods of 308,571 years having, it is fabled, intervened in the present *Kalpa* between the close of the Mănwăntără of Swāyămbhŭva and the commencement of the existing Vaivăswăta Mănwăntăra. [6]

I proceed with the story: "The maiden Sŭnīthā was the first-born of "Mrityu (Death); she was given as wife to Anga, and of her Veṇa was

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[4] Sāyana on Rig Veda, I. 112. 15. . . . पृथिम् एतत्संज्ञकं वैनं राजर्षिम् . . . ॥

[5] Śatapatha Brahmana, V. 3. 5. 4. पृथी ह वै वैन्यो मनुष्याणां प्रथमोऽभिषिषिचे ॥

[6] The names of all the Manus are to be found in the Vishnu Purana (Wilson), p. 259. In the genealogy of Veṇa, given in p. 98, none of them except the first, Swāyămbhŭva, the alleged progenitor of them all, and the sixth, the Manu Chākshŭsha, are to be found. In p. 263, however, the four intermediate Manus, Swārŏchĭsha, Auttămi, Tāmăsa, and Raivăta, are stated to be the descendants of Priyăvrăta, the eldest son of the Manu Swāyambhuva (Vish. Pur. p. 52), while Veṇa is descended from the other son Uttānăpādă; so there is no contradiction between the accounts.

" born. This daughter's son of Mrityu, infected with the taint of his " maternal grandfather, came into existence corrupt, as if by nature. When " Vena was installed as monarch by the eminent Rishis, he caused this " proclamation to be made on the earth; 'Men must not sacrifice, or offer " oblations, or give gifts. Who else but myself is the enjoyer of sacrifices? " I am always the lord of oblations.' Then all the Rishis, approaching the " king with respectful salutations, said to him in a conciliatory tone: 'Hear, " O king, what we have to say; we will worship Hări, the king of the gods, " and lord of all sacrifices, with the *Dĭrghăsătra* (prolonged sacrifice), from " which the highest benefits will accrue to your kingdom, person, and " subjects. May all be well with you: you shall share in the sacrifice. " Vishnu, the lord, the sacrificial Male, being propitiated by us with the " oblation, will grant all your desires. Hari, lord of sacrifices, gives to " those kings in whose country he is honoured with sacrifices, the accom- " plishment of all that they wish.' Vena replied: 'What other is superior " to me? Who else but I should be adored? Who is this person called Hari, " whom you regard as lord of sacrifice? Brahmā, Jănārdăna, Rudra, Indra, " Vāyu, Yămă, Răvi (the Sun), Ăgni (Fire), Vărŭna, Dhātri, Pūshăn, Earth, " the Moon: these and all the other gods who curse and bless us are " present in a king's person; for he is composed of all the gods. Knowing " this, see that ye perform what I have commanded. Ye must not, Brah- " mans, give alms, or offer sacrifice, or oblation. As obedience to their " husbands is regarded as the chief duty of women, so is the observance of " my commands incumbent upon you.' The Rishis answered: 'Give " permission, great king! let not religion perish; this whole world is but a " modified form of oblations. If religion perish, the whole world also will " be destroyed.' When Vena, though thus entreated by the Rishis, and " repeatedly addressed, did not accord his permission, then all those Mŭnis, " being filled with wrath, cried out to each other, 'Slay, slay the sinner. " This man of degraded character, who blasphemes the sacrificial Male, the " god, the Lord without beginning or end, is no fitting ruler of the earth.' " Having so spoken, the Mŭnis slew with blades of sacrificial grass purified " by hymns, this king who had been already slain by his blasphemy of the " divine Being, and his other offences. The Munis afterwards beheld dust " [arising] on every side, and asked the people who were near what that " was. Those persons told them, 'In this country, which has no king, the " people, being distressed, have become robbers, and have begun to seize " the property of others. It is from these robbers, rushing impetuously, " and plundering other men's goods, that this immense dust arises.' Then " all the Munis, after consulting together, rubbed the thigh of the king

" [Veṇa], who had left no progeny, to produce a son. From his thigh, " when rubbed, there sprang a man, like a charred log, with flattened face, " and very short. 'What shall I do?' cried this man, in distress, to the " Brahmans. They said to him, 'Sit down' [*nishīda*]; and he became in " consequence a Nishāda. There sprang afterwards from this man Nishā- " das, dwelling in the Vindhya mountains, notorious for their wicked " deeds. By this means the sin of the king (Veṇa) was expelled; the " Nishādas were thus produced, originating in the sin of Veṇa. The Brah- " mans then rubbed his right hand; and from it, when rubbed, arose the " glorious Prithu, Veṇa's son, whose resplendent form shone like the mani- " fested Agni. Then the primeval bow, Ājăgăva, fell from the sky, with " celestial arrows, and armour. At Prithu's birth all creatures rejoiced, " and when this holy son was born, Veṇa, delivered by that high souled " being from the hell called Pŭt, ascended to heaven." [7]

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[7] Vish. Pur. I. 13. 7 et seqq. पराशर उवाच । सुनीथा नाम या कन्या मृत्योः प्रथमजाऽभवत् । अङ्गस्य भार्य्या सा दत्ता तस्यां वेणस्त्वजायत ॥७॥ स मातामहदोषेण तेन मृत्योः सुतात्मजः । निसर्गादेव मैत्रेय दुष्ट एव व्यजायत ॥८॥ अभिषिक्तो यदा राज्ये स वेणः परमर्षिभिः । घोषयामास स तदा पृथिव्यां पृथिवीपतिः ॥ न यष्टव्यं न दातव्यं होतव्यं न कदाचन । भोक्ता यज्ञस्य कस्त्वन्यो ह्यहं यज्ञपतिः सदा ॥९॥ ततस्तम् ऋषयः सर्वे सम्भूय पृथिवीपतिम् । ऊचुः सामकलं सम्यङ् मैत्रेय समुपस्थिताः ॥१०॥ ऋषय ऊचुः ॥ भो भो राजन् शृणुष्व त्वं यद् वदामस्तव प्रभो । राज्यदेहोपकारे यः प्रजानाञ्च हितं परम् ॥११॥ दीर्घसत्रेण देवेशं सर्वयज्ञेश्वरं हरिम् । पूजयिष्यामो भद्रं ते तत्रांशस्ते भविष्यति ॥१२॥ यज्ञेन यज्ञपुरुषो विष्णुः सम्प्रीणितो विभुः । अस्माभिर्भवतः कामान् सर्वानेव प्रदास्यति ॥ यज्ञैर्यज्ञेश्वरो येषां राष्ट्रे सम्भूज्यते हरिः । तेषां सर्वेप्सितावाप्तिं ददाति नृप भूभुजाम् ॥ वेण उवाच ॥ मत्तः कोऽभ्यधिकोऽन्योऽस्ति कश्चाराध्यो ममापरः । कोऽयं हरिरिति ख्यातो यो वो यज्ञेश्वरो मतः ॥ ब्रह्मा जनार्दनो रुद्र इन्द्रो वायुर्यमो रविः । हुतभुग् वरुणो धाता पूषा भूमिर्निशाकरः ॥ एते चान्ये च ये देवाः शापानुग्रहकारिणः । नृपस्य ते शरीरस्थाः सर्वदेवमयो नृपः ॥ एतज्ज्ञात्वा मयाऽऽज्ञप्तं यद् यथा क्रियतां तथा । न दातव्यं न होतव्यं न यष्टव्यञ्च वो द्विजाः ॥१३॥ भर्तुः शुश्रूषणं धर्मो यथा स्त्रीणां परो मतः । ममाज्ञापालनं धर्मो भवताञ्च तथा द्विजाः ॥ ऋषय ऊचुः ॥ देह्यनुज्ञां महाराज मा धर्मो यातु संक्षयम् । हविषां परिणामोऽयं यद् एतद् अखिलं जगत् ॥१४॥ धर्मे च संक्षयं याते क्षीयते चाखिलं जगत् ॥ पराशर उवाच ॥ इति विज्ञाप्यमानोऽपि स वेणः परमर्षिभिः । यदा ददाति नानुज्ञां प्रोक्तः प्रोक्तः पुनः पुनः ॥ ततस्ते मुनयः सर्वे कोपामर्षसमन्विताः ।

The Harivansa (Sect. 5) relates the same legend as follows, with very little variation from the Vishnu Purana: "There was formerly a Prăjāpăti "called Ănga, of the race of Ătri, a protector of righteousness, resembling "Atri in power. His son was the Prăjāpăti Vena, who was not well skilled "in duty, and was born of Sunīthā, the daughter of Mrityu [Death]. This "son of the daughter of Kāla [Death], owing to the taint derived from his "maternal ancestor, throwing his duties behind his back, was addicted to "cupidity, from the influence of passion. This king established an un-"righteous rule of life, and transgressing the ordinances of the Veda, was "devoted to lawlessness. In his reign men lived without studying the "Veda, and without sacred invocations, and the gods drank no Soma-juice "at sacrifices. 'There shall be no sacrifice or oblation offered,'—such was "the ruthless injunction of that monarch, as the time of his destruction "approached. He said, 'I am the object and the offerer of sacrifice, and "the sacrifice itself: sacrifices and oblations should be presented to me.' "Then all the Rishis, headed by Mărīchi, addressed him who was thus "transgressing all rules, and exacting what was not his due: 'We are "about to enter upon a sacrifice which shall last for many years: practise "not unrighteousness, O Vena; this is not the eternal rule of duty. Thou

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हन्यतां हन्यतां पाप इत्यूचुस्ते परस्परम् ॥१५॥ यो यज्ञपुरुषं देवम् अनादिनिधनं प्रभुम्। विनिन्दत्यधमाचारो न स योग्यो भुवः पतिः॥ इत्युक्ता मन्त्रपूतैस्ते कुशैर्मुनिगणा नृपम्। निजघ्नुर्निहतं पूर्वं भगवन्निन्दनादिना ॥ ततश्च मुनयो रेणुं ददृशुः सर्वतो द्विज। किमेतदिति चासन्नं पप्रच्छुस्ते जनं तदा ॥१६॥ आख्यातच्च जनैस्तेषां चौरीभूतैरराजके। राष्ट्रे तु लोकैरारब्धं परस्वादानमातुरैः ॥१७॥ तेषाम् उदीर्णवेगानां चौराणां मुनिसत्तमाः। सुमहान् दृश्यते रेणुः परवित्तापहारिणाम् ॥ ततः सम्मन्त्र्य ते सर्वे मुनयस्तस्य भूभृतः। ममन्थुरूरुं पुत्रार्थम् अनपत्यस्य यत्नतः ॥ मथ्यतश्च समुत्तस्थौ तस्योरोः पुरुषः किल। दग्धस्थूणाप्रतीकाशः खर्वाटास्योऽतिह्रस्वकः ॥१८॥ किं करोमीति तान् सर्वान् विप्रान् आह स चातुरः। निषीदेति तमूचुस्ते निषादस्तेन सोऽभवत् ॥१९॥ ततस्तत्सम्भवा जाता विन्ध्यशैलनिवासिनः। निषादा मुनिशार्दूल पापकर्मोपलक्षणाः ॥२०॥ तेन द्वारेण निष्क्रान्तं तत् पापं तस्य भूपतेः। निषादास्ते तथा जाता वेणकल्मषसम्भवाः ॥२१॥ ततोऽस्य दक्षिणं हस्तं ममन्थुस्ते तदा द्विजाः। मथ्यमाने च तत्राभूत् पृथुर्वैण्यः प्रतापवान्॥ दीप्यमानः स्ववपुषा साक्षादग्निरिवोज्ज्वलन् ॥२२॥ आद्यम् आजगवं नाम खात् पपात ततो धनुः। शराश्च दिव्या नभसः कवचच्च पपात ह ॥ तस्मिञ्जाते तु भूतानि संप्रहृष्टानि सर्वशः। सत्पुत्रेण च जातेन वेणोऽपि त्रिदिवं ययौ। पुत्रान्नो नरकात् त्रातः स तेन सुमहात्मना ॥

" art, in truth, a Prājāpăti of Atri's race, and hast engaged to protect " thy subjects.' The infatuated Vena, ignorant of what was right, then " mockingly answered those great Rishis who had so addressed him ; " 'Who but myself is the ordainer of duty? to whom ought I to listen? " Who on earth is like me in sacred knowledge, in valour, in devotion, in " truth? Ye who are deluded and senseless, know not that I am the source " of all creatures and duties. Doubt not that, if I willed, I could burn up " the earth, or inundate it with water, or shut up heaven and earth.' When " Vena could not be restrained, from madness and pride, the mighty Rishis, " becoming incensed, seized the vigorous but quivering king, and rubbed " his left thigh. From it, when so rubbed, was produced a man very short " and black, who being alarmed, stood with joined hands. Atri, seeing " that he was agitated, said to him, 'Sit down' (*nishīda*). He became the " progenitor of the Nishādas, and of the Dhīvăras (fishermen), the offspring " of Vena's offence. The other inhabitants of the Vindhya range, Tukhā- " ras and Tumbŭras, prone to wickedness, are also descendants of Vena. " Then the mighty sages, incensed, again rubbed the right hand of Vena, " like sacrificial fuel, and Prithu came forth from it, his body gleaming like " the manifested Agni (Fire)." [8]

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[8] Harivanśa, Sect. 5. वैशम्पायन उवाच ॥ आसीद् धर्मस्य गोप्ता वै पूर्वम् अत्रिसमः प्रभुः । अत्रिवंशसमुत्पन्नस्वङ्गो नाम प्रजापतिः ॥ तस्य पुत्रोऽभवद् वेनो नात्यर्थं धर्मकोविदः । जातो मृत्युसुतायां वै सुनीथायां प्रजापतिः ॥ स मातामहदोषेण तेन कालात्मजात्मजः । स्वधर्मान् पृष्ठतः कृत्वा कामाल्लोभेष्ववर्त्तत ॥ मर्यादां स्थापयामास धर्मापेतां स पार्थिवः । वेदधर्मानतिक्रम्य सोऽधर्मनिरतोऽभवत् ॥ निःस्वाध्यायवषट्कारास्तस्मिन् राजनि शासति । प्रावर्त्तन् न पपुः सोमं हुतं यज्ञेषु देवताः ॥ न यष्टव्यं न होतव्यमिति तस्य प्रजापतेः । आसीत् प्रतिज्ञा क्रूरेयं विनाशे प्रत्युपस्थिते ॥ अहमिज्यश्च यष्टा च यज्ञश्चेति कुरूद्वह । मयि यज्ञा विधातव्या मयि होतव्यमित्यपि ॥ तमतिक्रान्तमर्यादम् आददानमसाम्प्रतम् । ऊचुर्महर्षयः सर्वे मरीचिप्रमुखास्तदा ॥ वयं दीक्षां प्रवेक्ष्यामः संवत्सरगणान् बहून् । अधर्मं कुरु मा वेन नैष धर्मः सनातनः ॥ अन्वयेऽस्मे प्रमूतस्त्वं प्रजापतिरसंशयम् । प्रजाश्च पालयिष्येऽहमिति ते समयः कृतः ॥ तांस्तथा ब्रुवतः सर्वान् महर्षीनब्रवीत् तदा । वेनः प्रहस्य दुर्बुद्धिरिममर्थमनर्थवित् ॥ वेन उवाच ॥ स्रष्टा धर्मस्य कश्चान्यः श्रोतव्यं कस्य वा मया । श्रुतवीर्यतपःसत्यैर्मया वा कः समो भुवि ॥ प्रभवं सर्वभूतानां धर्माणाञ्च विशेषतः । संमूढा न विदुर्नूनं भवन्तो मामचेतसः । इच्छन् दहेयं पृथिवीं प्लावयेयं जलैस्तथा । द्यां भुवञ्चैव रुन्धेयं नात्र कार्य्या विचारणा ॥ यदा न शक्यते मोहाद् अवलेपाच्च पार्थिवः । अनुनेतुं तदा वेनस्ततः क्रुद्धा महर्षयः ।

Though the Harivansa declares Vena to be a descendant of Atri, yet, as the Prăjāpăti Atri is said in a previous section to have adopted Uttānapāda, Vena's ancestor, for his son;[9] there is, so far, no contradiction in the genealogies.

The story of Vena is told in the same way, but more briefly, in the S'āntiparva of the Mahābhārata, Sect. 59. After narrating the birth of Prithu, the writer proceeds: "The son of Vena (Prithu) then addressed the great "Rishis with joined hands: 'A very slender understanding has been given "to me for perceiving the principles of duty: tell me truly how I must "employ it. Whatever you shall declare to me as my duty, and its objects, "that I shall unhesitatingly perform.' Then those gods and great Rishis "answered him: 'Whatever duty is ordained, do thou perform it undoubt-"ingly, abandoning love and hatred, regarding all creatures with an equal "eye, and putting far away lust, anger, cupidity, and pride. Restrain by "the strength of thy arm all those men who depart from righteousness, "having a continual regard to duty. In thought, deed, and word take on "thyself, and constantly renew, the engagement, to uphold the earthly Veda "[*brăhmă*]. . . . . And promise that thou wilt exempt the Brahmans from "punishment, and preserve society from the confusion of castes.' The "son of Vena then addressed the gods headed by the Rishis: 'The illus-"trious Brahmans, the chief of men, shall be venerated by me.' The son "of Vena was then addressed by those maintainers of the Veda in these "words, 'So be it.' S'ukra, the treasure of divine knowledge, then became "his priest, the Bālakhilyas and Sārăswătyas his ministers, and the divine "Rishi Gărga his astrologer."[10]

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निगृह्य तं महात्मानो विस्फुरन्तं महाबलम् । ततोऽस्य सव्यमूरुं ते ममन्थुर्जातमन्यवः ॥ तस्मिंस्तु मथ्यमाने वै राज्ञ ऊरौ विजज्ञिवान् । ह्रस्वोऽतिमात्रः पुरुषः कृष्णश्चापि बभूव ह ॥ स भीतः प्राञ्जलिर्भूत्वा स्थितवान् जनमेजय । तमब्रिर्विह्वलं दृष्ट्वा निषीदेत्यब्रवीत् तदा ॥ निषादवंशकर्त्ताऽसौ बभूव वदतां वर । धीवरानसृजच्चापि वेनकल्मषसम्भवान् । ये चान्ये विन्ध्यनिलयास्तुखारास्तुम्बुरास्तथा । अधर्मरुचयस्तात विद्धि तान् वेनसम्भवान् ॥ ततः पुनर्महात्मानः पाणिं वेनस्य दक्षिणम् । अरणीमिव संरब्धा ममन्थुर्जातमन्यवः ॥ पृथुस्तस्मात् समुत्तस्थौ कराज्ज्वलनसन्निभः । दीप्यमानः स्ववपुषा साक्षादग्निरिव ज्वलन् ॥

[9] Harivansa, Sect. 2, verse 60. उत्तानपादं जग्राह पुत्रमत्रिः प्रजापतिः ॥

[10] Mahābhārata, S'ānti Parva, Sect. 59, verses 2221 et seqq. ततस्तु प्राञ्जलिर्वैन्यो महर्षींस्तानुवाच ह । सुसूक्ष्मा मे समुत्पन्ना बुद्धिर्धर्मार्थदर्शिनी । अनया किं मया कार्यं तन्मे तत्त्वेन शंसत । यन्मां भवन्तो वक्ष्यन्ति कार्यमर्थसमन्वितम् । तदहं वै करिष्यामि नात्र कार्या विचारणा । तमूचुस्तत्र देवास्ते ते चैव परमर्षयः ।

The details in this passage from the Mahābhārata, regarding the submissiveness of Prithu towards the Brahmans, (in contrast, no doubt, to his father Vena,) show, even more clearly than the narratives in the Vishnu Purana and the Harivansa, that the history of the latter is not merely meant to exemplify the inevitable fate of impiety in general, but also to indicate the ruinous consequences of resistance to Brahmanical pretensions in particular.

The legend of Vena is related at greater length, but with no material variation in substance, in the Bhāgavăta Purana, Book IV. Sections 13—15. See also Wilson's note to Vish. Pur. pp. 98—9.

### SECT. III.—*Legend of Pŭrūrăvas.*

It is not my intention to narrate the entire mythical history of Purūrăvas, to which reference has been already made in the preceding chapter, but merely to quote two passages from the Mahābhărăta and Harivansa which speak of his contest with the Brahmans. The first is as follows; Vaiśămpāyana being the speaker: "Subsequently the wise Pŭrūrăvas was born of "Ilā, who, as we have heard, was both his mother and father. Ruling over "thirteen islands of the ocean, and being altogether surrounded, himself "a man of great renown, by inhuman [or superhuman] persons, Pŭrūrăvas, "deluded by his power, engaged in a contest with the Brahmans, and "robbed them of their jewels, though they loudly remonstrated. Sănătkŭ-"māra came from Brahmā's heaven and addressed to him an admonition, "which he did not regard. Being then straightway cursed by the incensed "Rishis, he perished, this covetous monarch, who from pride of power had "lost his understanding. This Kshatriya, attended by Urvăśī, brought "from the heaven of the Găndhărvas the fires duly distinguished as three "for the performance of sacrifice." [11] (See Wilson, Vishnu Pur. pp. 350

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नियतो यत्र धर्मो वै त्वमशङ्कः समाचर। प्रियाप्रिये परित्यज्य समः सर्वेषु जन्तुषु। कामक्रोधौ च लोभञ्च मानञ्चोत्सृज्य दूरतः। यश्च धर्मात् प्रविचलेल्लोके कश्चन मानवः। निग्राह्यास्ते स्वबाहुभ्यां शश्वद् धर्मवेक्षता। प्रतिज्ञाञ्चाधिरोहस्व मनसा कर्मणा गिरा। पालयिष्याम्यहं भौमं ब्रह्म इत्येव चासकृत्। ..... अदक्षा मे द्विजाश्चेति प्रतिजानीहि हे विभो। लोकञ्च सङ्करात् कृत्स्नं त्रातास्मीति परन्तप। वैन्यस्ततस्तानुवाच देवान् ऋषिपुरोगमान्। ब्राह्मणा मे महाभागा नमस्याः पुरुषर्षभाः। एवमस्त्विति वैन्यस्तु तैरुक्तो ब्रह्मवादिभिः। पुरोधाश्चाभवत् तस्य शुक्रो ब्रह्ममयो निधिः। मन्त्रिणो बालखिल्याश्च सारस्वत्यो गणस्तथा। महर्षिर्भगवान् गर्गस्तस्य सांवत्सरोऽभवत्॥

[11] Mahābhārata, Ādi Parva, Sect. 75, verses 3143 et seqq. पुरूरवास्ततो विद्वान् इलायां समपद्यत। सा वै तस्याभवद् माता पिता चैवेति नः श्रुतम्।

and 394—7, with note 6, p. 397.) I cite from the Harivăńsa another passage regarding Purūrăvas, though no distinct mention occurs in it of his conflict with the Brahmans: "He (the Moon) is the father of Budha (Mercury), whose "son was Purūravas, renowned for his heroic deeds, the divine man, the "vital fire, deserving of celebration, the generator, who produced the lost "fire sprung from the *Sămī* wood, who once loved Urvăsī, the most ex-"cellent of nymphs, who with his entire immortal body was swallowed by "the Munis with beautiful but fearful forms, and acute intelligence, and "was again made wise, and is worshipped in heaven as Fire." [12] [There are possibly some false readings in the text of this last passage; but, if so, I have not at hand any means of rectifying them.]

## SECT. IV.—*Story of Năhŭsha.*

The legend of Năhŭsha, grandson of Purūrăvas, the second prince alluded to by Manu as having come into hostile collision with the Brahmans, is narrated with more or less detail in different parts of the Mahābhārata, as well as in the Purānas. The first passage I shall quote is from the former work, Book I. Sect. 75: "Nahusha, the wise son of Āyus, of unquestioned "might, ruled with justice a mighty empire. He protected the Pitṛis, gods, "Rishis, Brahmans, Găndhărvas, Serpents, and Rākshăsās (demons), as "well as the Brahmans, Kshatriyas, and Vaisyas. This energetic prince "slew the hosts of the Dăsyŭs, and compelled the Rishis to pay tribute, "and caused them, like beasts, to carry him upon their backs. Having sub-"dued the celestials, he acquired for himself the rank of their king (Indra), "through his vigour, austerity, valour, and energy." [13] Here there is

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त्रयोदश समुद्रस्य द्वीपान् अश्नन् पुरूरवाः। अमानुषैर्वृतः सर्वैर्मानुषः सन् महा-यशाः। विप्रैः स विग्रहं चक्रे वीर्य्योन्मत्तः पुरूरवाः। जहार च स विप्राणां रत्नान्युत्क्रोशतामपि। सनत्कुमारस्तं राजन् ब्रह्मलोकादुपेत्य ह। अनुदर्शं ततश्चक्रे प्रत्यगृह्णाद् न चाप्यसौ। ततो महर्षिभिः क्रुद्धैः सद्यः शप्तो व्यनश्यत। लोभान्वितो बलमदाद् नष्टसंज्ञो नराधिपः। स हि गन्धर्वलोकस्थान् उर्वश्या सहितो विराट्। आनिनाय क्रियार्थेऽग्नीन् यथावद् विहितांस्त्रिधा॥

[12] Harivansa, Sect. 154, verses 8811 et seqq. पिता बुधस्योत्तमवीर्य्यकर्मा पुरूरवा यस्य सुतो नृदेवः। प्राणाग्निरीड्योऽग्निमजीजनद् यो नष्टं शमीगर्भभवं भवात्मा। तथैव पश्चाच्चक्रमे महात्मा पुरोर्वशीम् अप्सरसां वरिष्ठाम्। पीतः पुरा योऽमृतसर्वदेहो मुनिप्रवीरैर्वरगात्रियोगैः। नृपः कुशाग्रैः पुनरेव यश्च धीमान् कृतोऽग्निर्दिवि पूज्यते च॥

[13] Mahābhārata, Ādi Parva, Sect. 75, verses 3151 et seqq. आयुषो नहुषः

merely a brief allusion to his humiliating treatment of the Rishis. The Harivansa only alludes to his acquiring the sovereignty of the gods. [14]

The story of Năhŭsha is thus introduced in another part of the Mahābhărăta, (the Vana Parva, Sect. 180). Yudhishthira found his brother Bhīmăsēna seized by a serpent in a forest. This serpent, it appears, was king Năhŭsha, who, on being questioned, thus related his own history: "I was "a renowned king, Nahusha by name, more ancient than you, the son of "Āyus, and in the fifth generation from Soma. By my sacrifices, austerity, "sacred study, self-restraint, and valour, I acquired the undisturbed sove- "reignty of the three worlds. When I had attained that sovereignty pride "took possession of my soul; for a thousand Brahmans bore my palankeen. "Becoming then intoxicated by the pride of power, and contemning the "Brahmans, I was reduced to this condition by Ăgăstya." [15] The serpent promises that he will let Bhīmăsēna go, if Yudhishthira, his brother, will answer certain questions. He proceeds to enquire *who* is a Brahman, and *what* is the object of knowledge; and they accordingly enter on the consideration of these and other points. At length Yudhishthira asks how delusion had happened to enter into so wise a person as this conversation showed Năhŭsha to be. The latter replies that he had become deluded by his pride of power, and goes on to say; "Formerly as I was borne along "through the sky on a celestial car, being intoxicated with pride I regarded "no one save myself; 'All the inhabitants of the three worlds, the Brah- "manical Rishis, the Dēvas, the Găndhărvas, the Yăkshas, the Rākshăsas, "the Pănnăgas, pay me tribute: such is the power of my gaze, that on "what creature soever I turn my eyes, I straightway rob him of his glory.'

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पुत्रो धीमान् सत्यपराक्रमः। राज्यं शशास सुमहद् धर्मेण पृथिवीपते। पितॄन् देवान् ऋषीन् विप्रान् गन्धर्वोरगराक्षसान्। नहुषः पालयामास ब्रह्मक्षत्रमथो विशः। स हत्वा दस्युसङ्घातान् ऋषीन् करमदापयत्। पशुवच्चैव तान् पृष्ठे वाहयामास वीर्य्यवान्। कारयामास चेन्द्रत्वमभिभूय दिवौकसः। तेजसा तपसा चैव विक्रमेणौजसा तथा॥

[14] Harivansa, Sect. 154, verse 8813. आयुश्च वंशे नहुषश्च तस्य यो देवराजत्वमवाप वीरः॥

[15] Mahabharata, Vănă Părva, Sect. 180. सर्प उवाच। नहुषो नाम राजाऽहमासं पूर्वस्तवानघ। प्रथितः पञ्चमः सोमाद् आयोः पुत्रो नराधिप। क्रतुभिस्तपसा चैव स्वाध्यायेन दमेन च। त्रैलोक्यैश्वर्य्यमव्यग्रं प्राप्तोऽहं विक्रमेण च। तदैश्वर्य्यं समासाद्य दर्पो मामगमत् तदा। सहस्रं हि द्विजातीनामुवाह शिविकां मम। ऐश्वर्य्यमदमत्तोऽमवमन्य ततो द्विजान्। इमामगस्त्येन दशामानीतः पृथिवीपते॥

"For a thousand great sages bore my palankeen: that folly it was, O "king, which degraded me from my high estate. On that occasion I "touched with my foot the Muni Agăstya, by whom I was being carried. "Agăstya, in his wrath, then said to me, 'Fall, thou serpent!' Hurled "therefore from that glorious car, and fallen from my prosperity, as I "descended I perceived that I had become a serpent with downward face. "I then entreated the Brahman [Agastya], 'Let there be a termination to "the curse: thou, O divine being, oughtest to forgive one who has been "deluded by his inconsideration.' He, in his compassion, said to me as I "descended, 'Yudhishthira, the righteous king, will deliver thee from the "curse."[16] At the close of the conversation between Yudhishthira and the serpent we are told that "king Nahusha, throwing off his reptile form, "became clothed in a celestial body, and ascended to heaven."[17]

The story of Nahusha is narrated at greater length in the Vth Book (Ŭdyōga Părvă) of the Mahābhārata, Sections 10—16, as follows:

After the slaughter of the demon Vritra, Indra being alarmed at the idea of his having taken the life of a Brahman, hid himself in the waters; and in consequence of the disappearance of the king of the gods, all mundane, as well as celestial, affairs fell into confusion. The Rishis and gods then applied to Nahusha to be their king. After excusing himself on the score of his want of power, Nahusha, at length, in compliance with their solicitations, accepted the high function. He had always theretofore been a virtuous monarch, but now became devoted to amusement and sensual pleasure; and aspired to the possession of Indrāṇī, Indra's queen, whom he had happened to see. The queen resorted to the Angiras Vrihaspati,

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[16] Mahabharata, Vănă Părva, Sect. 180. अहं हि दिवि दिव्येन विमानेन चरन् पुरा । अभिमानेन मत्तः सन् कञ्चिद् नान्यमचिन्तयम् । ब्रह्मर्षिदेवगन्धर्व-यक्षराक्षसपन्नगाः । करान् मम प्रयच्छन्ति सर्वे त्रैलोक्यवासिनः । चक्षुषा यं प्रप-श्यामि प्राणिनं पृथिवीपते । तस्य तेजो हराम्याशु तद्धि दृष्टेर्बलं मम । महर्षीणां सहस्रं हि उवाह शिविकां मम । स मामपनयो राजन् भ्रंशयामास वै श्रियः । तत्र ह्यगस्त्यः पादेन वहन् स्पृष्टो मया मुनिः । अगस्त्येन ततोऽस्युक्तो ध्वंस सर्पेति वै रुषा । ततस्तस्माद् विमानाग्र्यात् प्रच्युतश्च्युतलक्षणः । प्रपतन् बुबुधेऽत्मानं व्यालीभूतमधोमुखम् । अयाचं तमहं विप्रं शापस्यान्तो भवेदिति । प्रमादात् सम्प्र-मूढस्य भगवन् क्षन्तुमर्हसि । ततः स मामुवाचेदं प्रपतन्तं कृपान्वितः । युधिष्ठिरो धर्मराजः शापात् त्वां मोचयिष्यति ॥

[17] इत्युक्ताऽऽजगरं देहं मुक्त्वा स नहुषो नृपः । दिव्यं वपुः समास्थाय गतस्त्रि-दिवमेव च ॥

the preceptor of the gods, who engaged to protect her. As Nahusha was greatly incensed on hearing this, the gods endeavoured to pacify him; and pointed out the immorality of appropriating another person's wife. Nahusha, however, would not listen to the remonstrance; but replied that he was no worse than Indra himself: "The renowned Ahalyā, the wife of a "Rishi, was formerly violated, during her husband's life, by Indra; why was "he not restrained by you? And many barbarous deeds, and unrighteous "acts, and deceits have been perpetrated of old by Indra. Why did you "not restrain him?" [18] The gods, accordingly, being urged by Nahusha, went to bring Indrāṇī; but Vrihaspati would not deliver her up. At his recommendation, however, she solicited Nahusha for some delay, till she should ascertain what had become of her husband Indra. To this he assented. The gods then applied to Vishnu in behalf of Indra; and Vishnu promised that, if Indra would sacrifice to him, he should be purified from his guilt, and recover his dominion, whilst Nahusha would be destroyed. A sacrifice was accordingly offered by Indra; and "the guilt of Brahmanicide "being divided among trees, rivers, mountains, the earth, women, and living "creatures, and thus put away, Indra became vigorous, free from guilt, "and self-possessed." [19] Nahusha was by this means shaken from his place. But (unless this is said by way of prolepsis) he must have speedily regained it, as we are told that Indra was again ruined, and became invisible. His wife, Indrāṇī, now went in search of her lord; and by the help of Ŭpăśrŭtĭ, (the goddess of night, and revealer of secrets,) discovered him existing in a very subtle form in the stem of a lotus growing in a lake situated in a continent in an ocean north of the Himālăya. She then made known to him the wicked intentions of Nahusha, and entreated him to exert his power, rescue her, and resume his dominion. Indra declined an immediate exhibition of his valour, on the ground of Nahusha's superior strength; but suggested to his wife a device by which the tyrant might be hurled from his power. She was recommended to say to Nahusha that "if "he would visit her on a celestial vehicle borne by Rishis, she would gladly

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[18] Mahābhārata, Udyoga Parva, Sect. 11, verses 373, 374. अहल्या धर्षिता पूर्वम् ऋषीपत्नी यशस्विनी । जीवतो भर्तुरिन्द्रेण स वः किं न निवारितः ॥ बहूनि च नृशंसानि कृतानीन्द्रेण वै पुरा । वैधर्म्याण्युपधाश्चैव स वः किं न निवारितः ॥

[19] Mahabharata, Udyoga Parva, Sect. 12, verses 419 et seqq. विभज्य ब्रह्महत्यान्तु वृक्षेषु च नदीषु च । पर्वतेषु पृथिव्याञ्च स्त्रीषु चैव युधिष्ठिर । स विभज्य च भूतेषु विमृज्य च सुरेश्वरः । विज्वरो धूतपाप्मा च वासवोऽभवदात्मवान् ॥

"submit herself to him." [20] The queen of the gods accordingly went to Nahusha, by whom she was graciously received, and made this proposal to him; "I desire for thee an unheard-of vehicle, which neither Vishnu, "nor Rudra, nor Asuras, nor Rākshasas have ever employed. Let the "illustrious Rishis all together carry thee in a palankeen; this would please "me." [21] Nahusha receives favourably this appeal to his self-consequence; and, in the course of his answer, says: "He is a personage of no mean "power who makes Munis his bearers. I am an austere devotee, of great "might, lord of the past, the future, and the present. If I were incensed, "the world would no longer stand; on me every thing is dependent..... "Wherefore, O goddess, I shall without doubt fulfil your word. The "seven Rishis, and all the Brahman Rishis, shall carry me. Behold, fair "goddess, my majesty and my prosperity." [22]

Accordingly the narrative proceeds: "This wicked, irreligious, violent "man, intoxicated with the pride of power, and inflamed by passion, "attached to his litter those Rishis who submitted to his orders, and com-"pelled them to carry it." [23]

Indrāṇī then again resorts to Vrihaspati, who assures her that vengeance will soon overtake Nahusha for his impiety; and that he himself will perform a sacrifice with a view to his destruction, and for the discovery of Indra's lurkingplace. Agni is then sent to discover and bring Indra to Vrihaspati; and the latter, on Indra's arrival, informs him of what had occurred during his absence. While Indra, along with Kuvēra, Yama, Sōma, and Varuṇa, was devising means for the destruction of Nahusha,

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[20] Mahabharata, Udyoga Parva, Sect. 14, verse 449. ऋषियानेन दिव्येन मामुपैहि जगत्पते । एवं तव वशे प्रीता भविष्यामीति तं वद ॥

[21] Mahabharata, Udyoga Parva, Sect. 14, verses 457, 458. इच्छाम्यहमपूर्वं वाहनं ते सुराधिप । यत्र विष्णोर्न रुद्रस्य नासुराणां न रक्षसाम् । वहन्तु त्वां महाभागा ऋषयः सङ्गता विभो । सर्वे शिविकया राजन्नेतद्धि मम रोचते ॥

[22] Mahabharata, Udyoga Parva, Sect. 14, verse 463. न ह्यल्पवीर्यो भवति यो वाहान् कुरुते मुनीन् । अहं तपस्वी बलवान् भूतभव्यभवत्प्रभुः । मयि क्रुद्धे जगन्न स्याद् मयि सर्वं प्रतिष्ठितम् । ..... तस्मात् ते वचनं देवि करिष्यामि न संशयः । सप्तर्षयो मां वक्ष्यन्ति सर्वे ब्रह्मर्षयस्तथा । पश्य माहात्म्यमस्माकम् ऋद्धिञ्च वरवर्णिनि ॥

[23] Mahabharata, Udyoga Parva, Sect. 14, verses 468, 469. विमाने योजयित्वा स ऋषीन् नियममास्थितान् । अब्रह्मण्यो बलोपेतो मत्तो मदबलेन च । कामवृत्तः स दुष्टात्मा वाहयामास तानृषीन् ॥

the sage Agastya came up and congratulated Indra on the fall of his rival; and proceeded to relate how it happened, as follows: "The illustrious "divine-Rishis and the spotless Brahman-Rishis, wearied with carrying "the sinner Nahusha, asked that divine personage (Nahusha) [to solve] a "difficulty: 'O most excellent of conquerors, dost thou regard as authori-"tative those formulæ for the sacrifice of kine which are called Brahmani-"cal?' 'No,' replied Nahusha; whose understanding was enveloped in "darkness. The Rishis answered, 'Thou who art engaged in unrighteous-"ness, dost not attain unto righteousness. These formulæ are regarded as "authoritative by us, having formerly been uttered by great Rishis.' Then," (proceeds Agastya,) "disputing with the Munis, Nahusha, impelled by wick-"edness, touched me on the head with his foot. In consequence of this, "the king's power was smitten, and his prosperity departed. Then I said "to him, who instantly became bewildered, and disturbed by fear, 'Since "thou declarest unholy that holy rite which has been ordained by former "sages, and practised by Brahman-Rishis, and since thou hast touched my "head with thy foot, and since thou, in thy folly, hast converted the "Brahmā-like and irresistible Rishis into porters, and dost make them "carry thee,—therefore, shorn of thy lustre, and all thy merit exhausted, "sink down, thou sinner, from heaven to earth. For ten thousand years thou "shalt crawl in the form of a huge serpent; and at the completion of that "period thou shalt again ascend to heaven.' So was that wicked one "hurled down from the sovereignty of the gods. Happily, o Indra, we "shall now prosper, for the enemy of the Brahmans is smitten. Grasp "the [throne of the] three worlds, and protect their inhabitants, o husband "of Śachī (Indrāṇī), subduing thy senses, and subduing thine enemies, "and celebrated by the great Rishis." [24]

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[24] Mahabharata, Udyoga Parva, Sect. 16, verses 527 et seqq. अमात्तीश्च वहन्तस्तं नहुषं पापकारिणम्। देवर्षयो महाभागास्तथा ब्रह्मर्षयोऽमलाः। पप्रच्छुर्नहुषं देवं संशयं जयतां वर। य इमे ब्राह्मणाः प्रोक्ता मन्त्रा वै प्रोक्षणे गवाम्। एते प्रमाणं भवत उताहो नेति वासव। नहुषो नेति तानाह तमसा गूढचेतनः॥ ऋषय ऊचुः। अधर्मं सम्प्रवृत्तस्त्वं धर्मं न प्रतिपद्यसे। प्रमाणमेतदस्माकं पूर्वं प्रोक्तं महर्षिभिः॥ अगस्त्य उवाच॥ ततो विवदमानः स मुनिभिः सह वासव। अथ मामस्पृशद् मूर्ध्नि पादेनाधर्मयोजितः। तेनाभूद् हततेजाश्च निःश्रीकश्च महीपतिः। ततस्तं सहसा विग्नमवोचं भयपीडितम्। यस्मात् पूर्वैः कृतं ब्रह्म ब्रह्मर्षिभिरनुष्ठितम्। अदुष्टं दूषयसि वै यच्च मूर्ध्नास्पृशः पदा। यच्चापि त्वम् ऋषीन् मूढ ब्रह्मकल्पान् दुरासदान्। वाहान् कृत्वा वाहयसि तेन स्वर्गाद् हतप्रभः। ध्वंस पाप

We have above seen the dissolute character imputed by Nahusha to Indra. Is the epithet "subduing thy senses," here assigned to him by Agastya, to be considered a piece of flattery, or a delicate hint that he should practise a purer morality in future?

This legend of Nahusha, like that of Vena, seems intended not merely to exemplify the nemesis inevitably awaiting every gross display of pride and presumption in general, but also to aim a blow more particularly at those princes who dared to resist the pretensions, or encroach on the prerogatives of the priesthood. This appears from various distinct expressions towards the close of the story, as well as, perhaps, from its whole tenour.

### SECT. V.—*Story of Nimi.*

Nimi (one of Ishwāku's sons) is another of the princes who are stigmatized by Manu, in the passage above quoted, for their want of deference to the Brahmanical order. The legend, as related in the Vishnu Purana (Wilson, p. 388), is as follows: Nimi had requested the Brahman-Rishi Vāśishṭha to officiate at a sacrifice which was to last a thousand years. Vāśishṭha excused himself by saying that he had been pre-engaged by Indra for five hundred years, but would come back at the end of that time. The king made no remark, and Vāśishṭha went away, supposing that he had assented to this arrangement. On the priest's return, however, he found that king Nimi had retained Gautăma and others to perform the sacrifice; and being incensed at this unceremonious neglect to give him notice of what was intended, he cursed the king, who was then asleep, to lose his corporeal form. When Nimi awoke and found that he had been so cursed without any previous warning, he retorted by uttering a similar curse on Vāśishṭha; and then died. "In consequence of his curse" (the Vishnu Purana proceeds), "the strength of Vāśishṭha entered into the strength of "Mitra and Vărŭṇa. Vāśishṭha, however, received from them another

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परिभ्रष्टः क्षीणपुण्यो महीतलम् । दशवर्षसहस्राणि सर्परूपधरो महान् । विचरिष्यसि पूर्णेषु पुनः स्वर्गमवाप्स्यसि । एवं भ्रष्टो दुरात्मा स देवराज्यादरिन्दम । दिष्ट्या वद्धामहे शक्र हतो ब्राह्मणकण्टकः । त्विष्टिं प्रपद्यस्व पाहि लोकान् शचीपते । जितेन्द्रियो जितामित्रः स्तूयमानो महर्षिभिः ॥ Further on, Sect. 17, verse 556, Nahusha is called "the wicked, *the enemy of Brahmans*, the sinful-minded:" दुराचारश्च नहुषो ब्रह्मद्विट् पापचेतनः । The Bhāgavata Purana alludes to the story in these words: पितरि भंशिते स्थानाद् इन्द्राण्या धर्षणाद् द्विजैः । "His father having been hurled by the Brahmans from his place, for the "violation of Indrāṇī."

" body, when their passion had been inflamed by the sight of Urvăsī." [25] Nimi's body was enbalmed. At the close of the sacrifice which he had begun, the gods were willing, on the intercession of the priests, to restore him to life, but he declined the offer; and was placed by the gods, according to his desire, in the eyes of all living creatures. It is in consequence of this that their eyes are always opening and shutting. (*Nimisha* means the twinkling of the eye.)

The same story is related in the Bhāgăvăta Purana, IX. 13. 1—13. A portion of the passage is as follows: " Nimi, self-possessed, and knowing " this world to be fleeting, commenced the sacrifice with other priests, " until his own spiritual guide should have returned. The latter, on his " return, [after completing Indra's sacrifice,] discovering the transgression " of his disciple, cursed him thus: 'Let the body of Nimi, who thinks " himself wise, fall away from him.' Nimi retorted the curse on his pre- " ceptor, who was acting unrighteously, in these words, 'Let thy body also " fall from thee, since thou, through covetousness, art ignorant of thy duty.' " Having thus spoken, Nimi, who knew the supreme spirit, abandoned his " body: and the patriarch (Văśishtha) was born from Mitra and Vărŭṇa, " in Urvăśī." [26] The note of the commentator on the Bhāgavata Purana (Śrīdhăra), on the close of this passage, is given below. [27]

The offence of Nimi, as declared in these passages, is not that of contemning the entire Brahmanical order as such, or of usurping their priestly functions; but only of presuming to consult his own convenience in pro-

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[25] Vishnu Pur. Book IV. Sect. 5, paragraph 6. तच्छापाच्च मित्रावरुणयोस्तेजसि वशिष्ठतेजः प्रविष्टम् । उर्वशीदर्शनाद् उद्भूतवीर्य्यप्रपातयोः सकाशाद् वशिष्ठो देहमपरं लेभे ॥ Literally rendered, the concluding words mean as follows:— *Quum, Urvasiæ adspectu, semen genitale ab iis decidisset,* &c.

[26] Bhāg. Pur. IX. 13. 3—6. निमिश्चलमिदं विद्वान् सत्त्वमारभतात्मवान् । ऋत्विग्भिरपरैस्तावद् नागमद् यावता गुरुः ॥ शिष्यव्यतिक्रमं वीक्ष्य निर्वर्त्त्यै गुरुरागतः । अशपत् पततात् देहो निमेः पण्डितमानिनः ॥ निमिः प्रतिददौ शापं गुरवेऽधर्मवर्त्तिने । तवापि पततात् देहो लोभाद् धर्ममजानतः ॥ इत्युत्ससर्ज स्वं देहं निमिरध्यात्मकोविदः । मित्रावरुणयोर्जज्ञे उर्वश्यां प्रपितामहः ॥

[27] Srīdhăra on Bhāg. Pur. IX. 13. 6. उर्वशीदर्शनात् स्कन्नं रेतस्ताभ्यां कुम्भे निषिक्तं तस्मात् प्रपितामहो वशिष्ठो जज्ञे । तदाह मित्रावरुणयोरिति । तथा च श्रुतिः कुम्भे रेतः सिषिचतुः समानमिति ॥ " Quum, Urvasiæ adspectu, semen " ab iis decidens, in vase receptum fuisset, ex eo Vasishthas patriarcha " natus est. Such is the sense of these words; and to the same effect is " the text of the Veda, 'Illi duo in vas liquorem eundem emiserunt.' "

ceeding to celebrate a sacrifice with the assistance of other Brahmans, when his own spiritual preceptor was otherwise engaged. The compiler of the Bhāgavata, as we have seen, awards his censure impartially to both parties, and relates that the king's curse took effect on the Rishi, as well as the Rishi's on the king.

## SECT. VI.—*Vāśishṭha.*

One of the most remarkable of all the struggles between the Brahmans and the Kshatriyas, which are recorded in the legendary history of India, is that which appears to have taken place between the priestly sage Vāśishṭha and the royal Ṛishi Viśwāmitra. Before, however, referring to the various legends in which this contest is represented with many fabulous accompaniments, I shall bring together the principal particulars of information which the Vedas and Puranas furnish of these two renowned personages individually.

I adduce first a passage from the Rig Veda, as the most ancient of all the authorities. We find there (VII. 33. 10—13) the following verses; which are probably the original source of the myth regarding the birth of Vāśishṭha, as the son of Mitra and Varuṇa, which we have already encountered in the legend of Nimi in the preceding section: "10. When Mitra and Varuṇa "beheld thee embracing the flame of the lightning,—that was thy birth, "and (thou hadst) one (other birth) o Vasishṭha, when Agastya brought thee "from the house. 11. Thou art the son of Mitra and Varuṇa, o Vāśishṭha, "born, o Brahman, from the mind of Urvāśī—a drop fallen by a divine "effort, (as such) all the gods took thee in the vessel. 12. He, the enlightener, "acquainted with both worlds, and lavishing a thousand gifts, nay every "thing, Vaśishṭha, when desiring to weave the cloth spread out by Yama, "sprang from the nymph. 13. They indeed, (Mitra and Varuṇa,) born in "the sacrifice, and impelled by adorations, let fall into the jar the same "drop of fluid. From the midst of it arose Māna (Agastya): from this "they say the ṛishi Vasishṭha was born." [28]

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[28] Rig Veda, VII. 33. 10—13. विद्युतो ज्योतिः परिसञ्जिहानं मित्रावरुणा यदपश्यतां त्वा । तत्ते जन्मोतैकं वसिष्ठागस्त्यो यत् त्वा विश आजभार ॥ १० ॥ उतासि मैत्रावरुणो वसिष्ठोर्वश्या ब्रह्मन् मनसोऽधिजातः । द्रप्सं स्कन्नं ब्रह्मणा दैव्येन विश्वे देवाः पुष्करे त्वाददन्त ॥ ११ ॥ स प्रकेत उभयस्य प्रविद्वान् सहस्रदान उत वा सदानः । यमेन ततं परिधिं वयिष्यन् अप्सरसः परिजज्ञे वसिष्ठः ॥ १२ ॥ सत्रे ह जाताविषिता नमोभिः कुम्भे रेतः सिसिचतुः समानम् । ततो ह मान उदियाय मध्यात् ततो जातमृषिमाहुर्वसिष्ठम् ॥ १३ ॥ I am indebted to Professor Müller's kindness for a translation of these verses (which I have

One of these verses of the Rig Veda (VII. 33. 11) is quoted in the Nirukta, (an ancient work by Yāska, explanatory of the obscure words and allusions in the Veda,) Book V. 13. 14, and is there preceded by a few words regarding Urvăśī, and alluding to the legend already noticed. [29] An attempt is made to illustrate the sense of the same Vedic passage in the Vrĭhăddēvătā, (a work of considerable antiquity, and in verse, illustrative of the Vedic legends; of which an account is given in Weber's Indische Studien, Vol. I. pp. 101—20.) [30]

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almost literally followed); and for valuable aid in rendering other passages in this section. Böhtlingk and Roth in their Sanskrit and German Lexicon, assign to the word *ŭrvăśī* the sense of "strong desire." See for Langlois's view, his French version of the Rig Veda, Vol. III, pp. 79, 80, and his note, p. 234. Prof. M. Müller, Oxford Essays for 1856, pp. 61, 62, says that Văsishṭha is a name of the sun; but that the ancient poet also "is called the son of Mitra and Varuṇa, night and day, an ex-"pression which has a meaning only with regard to Văsishṭha, the sun; "and as the sun is frequently called the offspring of the dawn, Vasishṭha, "the poet, is said to owe his birth to Urvăśī." Müller identifies Urvăśī with Ushăs, the dawn. Roth in his Erlaüterungen (Illustrations) to the Nirukta, p. 64, speaks of these verses of the Rig Veda as a more modern addition to an older hymn, and as describing the miraculous birth of Văsishṭha in the style and taste of the epic mythology. He translates the words पुष्करे त्वाददन्त, at the close of verse 11, "received thee up into "heaven," instead of, "took thee in the vessel;" herein following the Nirukta.

[29] Nirukta, V. 13. 14. तस्या दर्शनाद् मित्रावरुणयो रेतश्चस्कन्द । तदभिवादित्येषगर्भवति, "Illius (Urvasiæ) adspectu, Mitræ Varunæque semen decidit: in reference to which we have this verse." Yāska, the author of the Nirukta, is considered by Müller (in Bunsen's Philos. of Un. Hist. Vol. I. p. 137) to have flourished as long ago as the 4th century B. C.

[30] The following are the verses of the Vrĭhăddēvătā to which I have referred, as given by Böhtlingk and Roth in their Lexicon, sub voce *Ăgăstya*. (Compare Sāyăṇa on Rig Veda VII. 33. 10.) तयोरादित्ययोः सत्रे दृष्ट्वाऽप्सरसमुर्वशीम् । रेतश्चस्कन्द तत् कुम्भे न्यपतद् वासतीवरे । तेनैव तु मुहूर्त्तेन वीर्य्यवन्तौ तपस्विनौ । अगस्त्यश्च वसिष्ठश्च तत्रर्षी सम्बभूवतुः । बहुधा पतितं रेतः कलशे च जले स्थले । स्थले वसिष्ठस्तु मुनिः सम्बभूवर्षिसत्तमः ॥ कुम्भे त्वगस्त्यः सम्भूतो जले मत्स्यो महाद्युतिः । उदियाय ततोऽगस्त्यः शम्यामात्रो महातपाः ॥ मानेन संमितो यस्मात् तस्माद् मान्य इहोच्यते । यद्वा कुम्भादृषिर्जातः कुम्भेनापि हि

In hymn 87 of the VIIth Book of the Rig Veda, verse 4, Vasishṭha, to whom the hymn is ascribed, lays claim to illumination from the god Varuṇa: "Varuṇa declared to me, who am wise, 'the cow has thrice-seven names.' "This intelligent god, instructing us, has made known the mysteries of "heaven to this later generation." [31] And in the next hymn, (the 88th, verse 4,) we find him recording some other benefits which had been conferred upon him by the same deity: "Varuṇa has received Vasishṭha into "the ship; by his mighty deeds the beneficent god has made the ṛishi who "praises him to enjoy prosperous days, so that his days and dawns have "been prolonged." [32]

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मीयते ॥ कुम्भ इत्यभिधानच्च परिमाणस्य लक्ष्यते ॥ ततोऽम्सु गृह्यमाणासु वसिष्ठः पुष्करे स्थितः । सर्वतः पुष्करे तं हि विप्रे देवा अधारयन् ॥ "When these two "Adityas [Mitra and Vărŭṇa] beheld the nymph Urvăśī at a sacrifice, "semen ex iis in vas sacrificiale *Vâsatîvara* dictum decidit. At that "instant the two mighty and austere Rishis, Agăstya and Vasishṭha, were "produced there. The seed fell on many places, into the jar, into water, "and on the ground. Vasishṭha, the muni, and most excellent of ṛishis, "was produced on the ground. Agastya was produced in the jar, like a "fish of great lustre in the water. As the austere Agastya arose thence, "of the size of a *S'amī* by measurement, he is called the 'measurable.' "Or, the ṛishi, who was sprung from the jar (*kumbha*), is also measured by "a *kumbha;* this word being also defined as the name of a measure. Then "when the waters were taken, Vasishṭha remained in the vessel; for all the "gods held him in it on all sides."

[31] Rig Veda, VII. 87. 4. उवाच मे वरुणो मेधिराय त्रिःसप्त नामाघ्या बिभर्त्ति । विद्वान् पदस्य गुह्या न वोचद् युगाय विप्र उपराय शिक्षन् ॥

[32] Rig Veda, VII. 88. 4. वशिष्ठं ह वरुणो नाव्याधाद् ऋषिं चकार स्वपा महोभिः । स्तोतारं विप्रः सुदिनत्वेऽह्नां यान्नु द्यावस्ततनन् याद् उषसः ॥ I am not prepared to say what is here meant by the "ship;" but I observe Prof. Benfey (in his glossary to the Sāma Veda, p. 42) translates the 7th verse of the 46th hymn of the Ist Book of the Rig Veda as follows: "Arise, approach "us on the ship of the hymns. O Aświns, ye yoke the car to go to the "other shore." (आ नो नावा मतीनां यातं पाराय गन्तवे । युञ्जाथामश्विना रथम्); and adds in his notes; "The heaven is, according to the Vedic "conception, in a certain way an ocean, which separates the abode of the "gods from that of men. Hymns are the ship, and the Soma juice the "oars and car, which bring the Aświns from heaven."

In the Kāṭhaka Brahmana, II. 9, quoted by Weber in his Indische Studien, III. 458, Vasishṭha is alluded to as having "seen" a mantra (Vedic text), beginning with the word *Purovāta*, during a time of drought. [33]

In the same work, XXXVII. 17, as quoted by the same writer, (Ind. St. III. 478, where the Taittirīya, 3. 5. 2, is also referred to,) the following legend is narrated regarding the preeminence of Vasishṭha: "The ṛishis did not behold "Indra face to face; but Vaśishṭha so beheld him. Indra was afraid lest "Vasishṭha should tell the other ṛishis; and said to him, 'I shall declare to "thee a brāhmaṇa through which men will be born who shall have thee for "their *purohita:* do not tell the other ṛishis.' Accordingly he declared to "him these parts of the hymn: in consequence men were born having the "Vasishṭhas for *purohitas.*" [34]

Weber refers in the same place to another story in the Śatapatha Brāhmana XII. 6. 1. 38—41, (p. 930 of the printed text,) referring to the former superiority of Vasishṭha's family in sacred knowledge and priestly rank: "Vasishṭha was acquainted with the *virāj* (a species of Vedic metre). Indra "desired to know it; and said, 'o ṛishi, thou knowest the *virāj:* tell it to "me.' Vasishṭha replied; 'What advantage will thence result to me?' "Indra answered; 'I will tell thee the rites for rectifying (*prāyaschitti*) the "whole sacrifice, and show thee the complete and perfect form.' Vasishṭha "enquired, 'If thou declarest to me the remedial rites for the whole "sacrifice, what shall result to him to whom thou shalt show the form?' "Indra replied, 'He shall ascend from this world to the heaven of life.' "The ṛishi then declared the *virāj* to Indra, [saying] 'this is the *virāj.*' "Wherefore he who obtains most of this [?] becomes most eminent. Then "Indra declared to the ṛishi this remedial formula from the *agnihotra* to "the great *uktha.* Formerly the Vasishṭhas only knew these sacred sylla- "bles. Hence in former times a man of Vasishṭha's race alone was a priest "of the class called *brāhmăn.*" [35]

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[33] पुरोवात इति वृष्ट्यपेतो भूतग्रामे वसिष्ठो ददर्श ॥

[34] ऋषयो वा इन्द्रं प्रत्यक्षं नापश्यंस्तं वसिष्ठ एव प्रत्यक्षमपश्यत् । सोऽबिभेद् इतरेभ्यो मा ऋषिभ्यः प्रवक्ष्यतीति । सोऽब्रवीद् ब्राह्मणं ते वक्ष्यामि यथा त्वत्पुरोहिताः प्रजाः प्रजनिष्यन्तेऽथ मेतरेभ्य ऋषिभ्यो मा प्रवोच इति । तस्मा एतान् स्तोमभागानब्रवीत् ततो वसिष्ठपुरोहिताः प्रजाः प्राजायन्त ॥ Weber quotes, in the same place, the following passage, also, from the Kāṭhaka, XXXII. 2: यामब्राह्मणः प्राश्नाति सा स्कन्नाऽऽहुतिस्तस्या वै वसिष्ठ एव प्रायश्चित्तिं विदाञ्चकार । "The oblation of which a person not a Brahman partakes is vitiated. "Vasishṭha alone knew the remedial rite for such a case."

[35] Śatapatha Br. p. 930. वसिष्ठो ह विराजं विदाञ्चकार तां हेन्द्रोऽभिदध्यौ ।

In the Shaḍvinśa Brahmana of the Sāma Veda (quoted by the same writer, ibid. I. 39, and described, p. 37, as possessing a distinctly formed Brahmanical character, indicating a not very early date), we have the following passage (I. 5): "Indra declared the *uktha* (recited hymn) to Viśwā-"mitra, and the *brăhmă* (sacrificial knowledge) to Vasishṭha;—the *uktha*, "which is speech, to Viśwāmitra, and the *brăhmă*, which is mental, to "Vasishṭha. Hence this *brăhmă* belongs to the Vasishṭhas. Moreover let "a descendant of Vasishṭha, who is acquainted with it, be appointed priest "(*brăhmā*)." [36] Weber mentions (Ind. St. I. 53) that in the commentary of Rāmakrishna on the Pāraskara Grihya Sūtras allusion is made to the Chhandōgas who follow the *Sūtras* of the Vasishṭha family. [37]

Văśishṭha is also mentioned in the Mahābhārata (Śānti Parva, Sect. 304, verses 11221 et seqq.) as communicating divine knowledge to king Jănăka, and as referring (verses 11232, 11347, 11409, 11418, 11461, &c.) to the Sānkhya and Yoga systems. The sage is thus characterised: "King Jănăka, "with joined hands, saluted Vaśishṭha, the most excellent of Rishis, glorious "as the sun, who knew the supreme spirit, who had ascertained the means "of attaining the supreme spirit, and was the son of Mitra and Varuṇa; "and enquired of him that supreme knowledge which leads to final perfec-

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स होवाच । ऋषे विराजं ह वै वेत्थ तां मे ब्रूहीति । स होवाच किं मम ततः स्यादिति । सर्वस्य च ते यज्ञस्य प्रायश्चित्तिं ब्रूयां रूपञ्च त्वा दर्शयेयेति । स होवाच यन्नु मे सर्वस्य यज्ञस्य प्रायश्चित्तिं ब्रूयाः किमु स स्याद् यं त्वं रूपं दर्शयेया इति । जीवस्वर्ग एवास्माल्लोकात् प्रेयादिति । ततो हैताम् ऋषिरिन्द्राय विराजमुवाच इयं वै विराडिति तस्माद् योऽस्यै भूयिष्ठं लभते स एव श्रेष्ठो भवति । अथ हैताम् इन्द्र ऋषये प्रायश्चित्तिमुवाच अग्निहोत्रादग्र आ महत उक्थात् ता ह स्मैताः पुरा व्याहृतीर्वसिष्ठा एव विदुस्तस्माद्ध स्म पुरा वासिष्ठ एव ब्रह्मा भवति ॥

I am indebted to Professor Müller for the following explanation of a term employed in this passage: "Prāyaschitti or prāyaśchitta includes all the "rites which must be performed if any mistake has occurred. They form "a separate chapter in all the Śrauta-sūtras. It is the Brahma-priest who "has to watch over the whole form (rūpa) of the sacrifice, and it is he "who has to provide a prāyaśchitta rite if either Hotṛi, Udgātṛi or Adhvaryu "have committed a blunder."

[36] इन्द्रो ह विश्वामित्रायोक्थमुवाच वसिष्ठाय ब्रह्म वागुक्थमित्येव विश्वामित्राय मनो ब्रह्म वसिष्ठाय तद् वा एतद् वासिष्ठं ब्रह्मापि हैवंविधं वा वासिष्ठं वा ब्रह्मानं कुर्वीत ॥

[37] वासिष्ठसूत्रानुचारिणश्छन्दोगाः ॥

" tion." [38] The sage, it will be observed, is here called *Maitrāvarunih*, the son of Mitra and Varuṇa. The knowledge which he communicates to the king he professes to have derived from Brahmā (verses 11506—7). [39]

The creation of Vāśishṭha is thus described in the Vishnu Pur. I. 7, and is to be understood as having taken place in the first Mănwăntăra. (See Wilson's V. P. p. 49 and p. 260, note 4.) " Thus creatures, with and " without the power of voluntary motion, were created. When these " creatures of that Intelligent One did not multiply, he formed other mind-" born sons like to himself, Bhṛĭgu, Pulastya, Pulăha, Krătu, Angĭras, " Mărīchi, Dăksha, Atri, and Vāśishṭha. These are determined in the " Puranas to be the nine Brăhmās." [40]

The 10th Sect. of the Ist Book of the Vishnu Purāna relates that " Vă-" śishtha had by his wife Ūrjjā" (one of the daughters of Dăksha, and an allegorical personage) " seven sons called Răjăs, Gātra, Ūrddhwăbāhu, " Săvăna, Ănăgha, Sutăpăs, and Śukra, who were seven spotless Rishis." [41] (Wilson, Vish. Pur. pp. 54. 83.) The Bhāgăvăta Purāna assigns to him sons with different names; and also specifies Śaktri and others as the offspring of a different marriage. (Bhāg. Pur. IV. 1. 40—1. Wilson, p. 83, note 8.)

In Manu (IX. 23) it is said that " a woman acquires the qualities of the " husband with whom she is duly united, as a river, from its union with the

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[38] Mahābhārata, Śānti Parva, Sect. 304, verses 11221 et seqq. वशिष्ठं श्रेष्ठमासीनमृषीणां भास्करद्युतिम् । पप्रच्छ जनको राजा ज्ञानं नैःश्रेयसं परम् । परम् अध्यात्मकुशलम् अध्यात्मगतिनिश्चयम् । मैत्रावरुणिम् आसीनम् अभिवाद्य कृताञ्जलिः ॥ In the note at the end of his translation of the 90th hymn of the IXth Mandala of the Rig Veda, Vasishtha is set down by M. Langlois (no doubt on the authority of the commentary) as the son of Mitra and Vărŭṇa.

[39] अवाप्तमेतद् हि मया सनातनाद् हिरण्यगर्भाद् गदतो नराधिप ॥

[40] The original of this passage has been already quoted, Chap. I. Sect. VII. p. 25. note 40. Manu in the passage (I. 34—36) quoted above, p. 15. and note 18, states that there were *ten* Măhărshis, of whom Vāśishtha was one; but declares them to have been created by Manu, not by Brahmā. The Mahābhārata (in the place quoted above, p. 15. note 17) says that there were only *six* mental sons of Brahmā, of whom Vāśishtha was *not* one. In another passage of the same work, however (Ādi Parva, verse 6638), which will be cited below, he is called a mental son of Brahmā.

[41] Vishnu Pur. I. 10. ऊर्ज्जायाञ्च वशिष्ठस्य सप्ताजायन्त वै सुताः । रजो गात्रोर्द्ध्वबाहुश्च सवनश्चानघस्तथा । सुतपाः शुक्र इत्येते सर्वे सप्तर्षयोऽमलाः ॥

" sea, acquires its qualities:" and an illustration is given in the case of Akshămālā, " who, though of the lowest origin, became highly honourable " from her union with Vaśishtha. This was also the case with Śārăngī, who " was united to Măndăpāla." [42] The same wife is assigned to Văśishtha in a verse of the Mahābhārata. [43] But in two other passages of the same work, which will be adduced further on, he is called the husband of Arundhătī.

In the month of Āshādh Văśishṭha is one of the seven guardians who reside in the sun's car, while in Phālguna his rival Viśwāmitra is one of those who fulfil the same function. (Wilson's Vish. Pur. pp. 233—4.)

In the second Manwăntăra Urja the son of Văśishṭha was one of the seven Rishis; and in the third Manwăntăra the seven Rishis were all of them his sons. (V. P. p. 261, and note 8.) In the fourth and fifth Manwantaras also his sons are found among the Rishis. In the present or Vaivăswăta Manwantăra Văśishṭha himself reappears (except in the list in the Vāyu Purana) as one of the Rishis, (who are seven in number,) in company with Kăśyăpa, Atri, Jămădăgni, Gautăma, Viśwāmitra, and Bhărădwāja. (Vish. Pur. pp. 262—3, and notes 12 and 16, and p. 264, with note 20.)

At the beginning of the Vāyu Purāna Văśishṭha is celebrated as being the " most excellent of the Rishis." [44]

Văśishtha is said to have been the person who divided the Veda into four parts in the eighth Dwāpăra age. (Vish. Pur. III. 2. Wilson, p. 272.)

In the IVth Book of the Vishnu Pur. Sect. 2, (Wilson's translation, p. 360,) Văśishṭha is mentioned as the family priest of Ikshwāku, [45] the first prince of the solar dynasty. His name is not, however, in my MS. of the original, and may have been supplied from the commentary. In the fifth Sect. of the same Book he is mentioned as the priest of Nimi, son of Ikshwāku, (see above, in the last Sect., p. 73.) And in a passage to be cited further on from Section 174 of the first Book of the Mahā Bhārata, we shall find him described as the priest of Ikshwāku's race generally.

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[42] Manu, IX. 22, 23. यादृग्गुणेन भर्त्रा स्त्री संयुज्यते यथाविधि। तादृग्गुणा सा भवति समुद्रेणेव निम्नगा॥ अक्षमाला वशिष्ठेन संयुक्ताऽधमयोनिजा। शार्ङ्गी मन्दपालेन जगामाभ्यर्हणीयताम्॥ The commentator designates the wife of Mandapāla as *Chaṭakā*, a hen-sparrow.

[43] Mahābhārata, Vol. II. p. 233, verse 3970. वशिष्ठश्चाक्षमालया। Two lines below, Haimavătī is mentioned as the wife of Viśwāmitra: हैमवत्याच कौशिकः॥

[44] Commencement of Vayu Purana. ऋषीणाञ्च वरिष्ठाय वशिष्ठाय महात्मने॥

[45] Vishnu Pur. IV. 2. इक्ष्वाकुकुलाचार्य्यः॥

Many further particulars regarding this renowned sage will come out in the course of the legends which will be cited in the following pages.

### SECT. VII.—*Viśwāmitra.*

According to the Vishnu Purana, (pp. 398 and 400, Wilson,) Viśwāmitra, the great rival of Vaśishtha, was the twelfth in descent from Pŭrūrăvas.[46] He was the great-grandson of Kŭśa, who had four sons, one of whom was called Kŭśāmba. "Kuśāmba performed austerities, with the view of ob- "taining a son equal to Indra. Perceiving the intensity of his penance, "Indra, in order to prevent the birth of any other person equal in power to "himself, became himself the son of Kuśāmba, and was born as Gādhi, "descendant of Kŭśa."[47] Gādhi was the father of Viśwāmitra; and the latter had many sons, "from whom were descended many tribes of Kau- "śikas; who intermarried with the families of other Rishis."[48] The same account is given in the Hărivănśa (27th Sect.); but Viśwāmitra is there said to be the grandson of Kŭśika,[49] not of Kuśāmba. "The powerful "Kuśika, desiring a son equal to Indra, performed austerities; when Indra, "from apprehension, came to him, and was born. For when a thousand "years were fulfilled, Śakra (Indra), the thousand-eyed, destroyer of cities, "had beheld his intense devotion. Having the power to create progeny, "this king of the gods caused a portion of himself to take the form of a "son; and he accordingly himself became king Gādhi, the son of Ku- "śika."[50] In another passage in the same 27th Section, (verses 1457—8,)

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[46] Viśwāmitra was the son of a Chāndālin, according to the Vajra Sūchī, translated in the Transactions of the Roy. As. Society, Vol. III. p. 165.

[47] Vishnu Pur. Book IV. 7. तेषां कुशाम्बः शक्रतुल्यो मे पुत्रो भवेदिति तपश्चचार तच्चोग्रतपसमवलोक्य मा भवत्वन्योऽस्मत्तुल्यवीर्य्य इत्यात्मनैवास्येन्द्रः पुत्रत्वमगच्छत् । गाधिर्नाम स कौशिकोऽभवत् ॥

[48] Vishnu Pur. Book IV. 7. तेभाच्च बहूनि कौशिकगोत्राणि ऋष्यन्तरेषु वैवाह्यानि भवन्तीति ॥ Böhtlingk and Roth, sub voce *Kuśika*, consider *him* to be the *father* of Viśwāmitra, as well as of Gāthī or Gādhi.

[49] कुशिको राजा बभूव । "Kuśika was a king." Nirukta II. 25.

[50] Harivanśa, Sect. 27, 1426—9. कुशिकस्तु तपस्तेपे पुत्रमिन्द्रसमं विभुः । लभेयमिति तं शक्रस्त्रासाद् अभ्येत्य जज्ञिवान् । पूर्णे वर्षसहस्रे वै तन्तु शक्रो ह्यपश्यत । अतुग्रतपसं दृष्ट्वा सहस्राक्षः पुरन्दरः । समर्थः पुत्रजनने स्वमेवांशमवासयत् । पुत्रत्वे कल्पयामास स देवेन्द्रः सुरोत्तमः । स गाधिरभवद् राजा मघवान् कौशिकः स्वयम् ॥ The word "Kauśika" is applied as an epithet to Indra in Rig Veda I. 10. 11. आ तू न इन्द्र कौशिक मन्दसानः सुतं पिब । "Come quickly, Indra son of

the compiler of the Harivanśa says, "Gādhi begot a son, Viśwāmitra, who "was distinguished for austerity, knowledge, and quietude, attained equality "with Brahman-Rishis, and became one of the seven Rishis." [51]

The sons of Viśwāmitra are specified in the Harivanśa, and the tribes of Kauśikas descended from them are enumerated. [52] Then these lines follow:

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"Kuśika, delighted, drink the libation." On this the commentator Sāyăna annotates: यद्यपि विश्वामित्रः कुशिकस्य पुत्रस्तथापि तद्रूपेणेन्द्रस्यैवोत्पन्नत्वात् कुशिकपुत्रमविरुद्धम्। अयं वृत्तान्तोऽनुक्रमणिकायामुक्तः। कुशिकस्त्वैषीरथिरिन्द्रतुल्यं पुत्रमिच्छन् ब्रह्मचर्य्यं चचार। तस्येन्द्र एव गाथी पुत्रो जज्ञे इति॥ "Although Viśwāmitra was the son of Kuśika, yet, as it was Indra "who was born in his form, it is correct to call *him* the son of Kuśika. "This story is told in the Ănŭkrămăṇĭkā: 'Kuśika son of Ishīrăthi, de-"siring a son equal to Indra, practised austerity. To him was born a son "Gāthī, who was Indra.'" Prof. Müller remarks in his preface to Vol. II. of the Rig Veda, p. XL: "Sāyana passes over what Kātyāyana says of the "race of Viśwāmitra, कुशिकस्त्वैषीरथिरिन्द्रतुल्यं पुत्रमिच्छन् ब्रह्मचर्य्यं चचार। "तस्येन्द्र एव गाथी पुत्रो जज्ञे गाथिनो विश्वामित्रः स तृतीयं मण्डलमपश्यत्।" [This is the same passage as is cited from the Ănŭkrămăṇĭkā, or ancient Index to the Veda, in the quotation from Sāyăna immediately preceding; with the addition of the words "The son of Gāthī was Viśwāmitra, who "saw the third Mandala of the Rig Veda."] "According to Shadguru-"śishya, this preamble was meant to vindicate the Ṛishitwa of the family "of Viśwāmitra: सत्यपवादे स्वयम् ऋषित्वमनुभवतो विश्वामित्रगोत्रस्य विवक्षयेतिहासमाह।" [*The Ṛishihood of the family of Viśwāmitra being controverted, though perceived by themselves* [?], *he tells a story to declare it.*] "This was probably the reason why Sāyăna left it out." Sāyăna, however, could scarcely have intended to suppress the passage, as he had previously quoted it, though not entire, on Rig Veda I. 10. 11.

[51] Harivanśa, Sect. 27, 1457—8. विश्वामित्रन्तु दायादं गाधिः कुशिकनन्दनः। जनयामास पुत्रन्तु तपोविद्याशमात्मकम्। प्राप्य ब्रह्मर्षिसमतां योऽयं सप्तर्षितां गतः॥

[52] Harivanśa, Sect. 27, verse 1463. तेषां ख्यातानि गोत्राणि कौशिकानां महात्मनाम्। See Wilson, Vish. Pur. p. 405, note 23, where the names are given, and these remarks added;—"and an infinity of others, multiplied "by intermarriages with other tribes, and who, according to the Vāyu, "were originally of the regal caste, like Viśwāmitra; but, like him, ob-"tained Brahmanhood through devotion. Now these Gotras, or some of "them at least, no doubt existed, partaking more of the character of

"And many Kauśikas are recorded who intermarried with the families of "other ṛishis. In this race of the Paurava and the Kauśika Brahman-"ṛishi there was, as is well known, a union of a Brahman with a Kshatriya "stock." [53]

In the Aitareya Brahmana it is said that fifty of this sage's sons were condemned by him to be the progenitors of barbarous tribes: "'Your "descendants shall be degraded.' They are the Andhras, Puṇḍras, Śa-"baras, Pulindas, Mutivas, numerous frontier tribes; most of the Dasyus "being sprung from Viśwāmitra." [54]

In the genealogy given in both of the above passages, from the Vishnu Purana, and the 27th chapter of the Harivanśa respectively, Viśwāmitra is declared to be the descendant of Amāvasu the third son of Purūravas. In the 32d chapter of the Harivanśa, however, we have a different account. Viśwāmitra's lineage is there traced up to Jahnu as in the former case; but Jahnu is no longer made to be the descendant of Amāvasu the third son of Purūravas; but, (as appears by comparing chapters 28, 30, and 31,) of Āyus, the eldest son of that prince, and of Puru, the great-grandson of Āyus. [55] In this 32d chapter the story of the penance of Kuśika, and of

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"schools of doctrine, but in which teachers and scholars were very likely "to have become of one family by intermarrying; and the whole, as well as "their original founder, imply the interference of the Kshatriya caste with "the Brahmanical monopoly of religious instruction and composition."

[53] Harivanśa, Sect. 27, verses 1468 et seqq. ऋष्यन्तरविवाह्याश्च कौशिका बहवः स्मृताः । पौरवस्य महाराज ब्रह्मर्षेः कौशिकस्य च । सम्बन्धोऽप्यस्य वंशेऽस्मिन् ब्रह्मक्षत्रस्य विश्रुतः ॥

[54] Aitareya Brahmana, VII. 18 (as quoted by Roth, Zur Litteratur und Geschichte des Weda, p. 133). अन्तान् वः प्रजा भक्षीष्टेति त एतेऽन्ध्रा पुण्ड्राः शबराः पुलिन्दा मुतिवा इत्युदन्त्या बहवो भवन्ति । वैश्वामित्रा दस्यूनां भूयिष्ठाः ॥

[55] On this confusion of families in the Harivanśa, which appears to have originated from the recurrence of the name of Suhotra in different genealogical lists, and from the ascription to one person of this name, of descendants who were really sprung from another, see Professor Wilson's explicit note 23 to p. 451 of his translation of the Vishnu Purana. It is not, however, certain that the genealogy of Viśwāmitra given in the Vishnu Purana is the right one. For both in the Rig Veda, in the Aitarēya Brāhmana, and in the Mahā Bhārata, he is called a Bhārata, as well as a Kauśika; and it would appear that the Bhāratas were descended from Āyus, and from Puru. According to these authorities, therefore, the Harivanśa is right in styling

Indra being born as his son, is repeated; as well as the verse relative to the union of Brahmans and Kshatriyas in Viśwāmitra's line.

The following legend is related in the Vishnu Purana regarding the birth of Viśwāmitra. His sister Satyavatī had been given in marriage to the Brahman Ṛichīka, a descendant of Bhṛigu. In order that she might conceive a son with the qualities of a Brahman, her husband Ṛichīka had prepared a dish of *Charu* (rice, barley, and pulse, with butter and milk) for her to eat. He also prepared for her mother a similar mess, calculated to make her give birth to a son with the character of a warrior. Satyavatī's mother, however, persuaded her daughter to exchange messes. Being blamed by her husband, on his return home, for what she had done, and "being informed by him that the endowments of heroism, valour, and force "had been infused into the mess she had eaten, while those of quietude, "knowledge, and patience, the elements of a Brahman's perfection, had "been infused into the one originally destined for her, and that her son "would in consequence have the terrible, martial, and destructive character "of a Kshatriya, while her mother's son would have the peaceful qualities "of a Brahman,—" [56] Sătyăvătī acknowledged her ignorant folly; and deprecating the birth of a Kshatriya son to herself, and begging that (if she must have a warlike descendant), he should be a grandson, she induced her husband to let her have a child of the character he had originally designed for her. She accordingly bore Jamadagni, while her mother gave birth to Viśwāmitra.

This legend is told in substantially the same way in the Harivanśa, Section 27; and in the Anuśāsana Parva of the Mahābhārata, Section 4.

In the 43d hymn of the third Book of the Rig Veda, ascribed to Viśwāmitra, we have a verse (the 5th) which, according to the commentator, is to be interpreted as follows: "Make me protector of the people; (make me) "king, o thou who art lord of wealth, and of the Soma-plant; make me a

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Viśwāmitra at once a Paurava and a Kauśika. The passages here alluded to will be cited further on.

[56] Vishnu Pur. IV. 7. 15. मया हि तत्र चरौ सकलैव सौर्यवीर्यबलसम्पद् आरोपिता। त्वदीये चरावप्यखिलशान्तिज्ञानतितिक्षादिका ब्राह्मणसम्पत्। एतच्च विपरीतं कुर्वत्यास्तव अतिरौद्रास्त्रधारणमारणनिष्ठक्षत्रियाचारः पुत्रो भविष्यति। अस्याश्चोपशमरुचिब्राह्मणाचार इत्याकर्ण्यैव सा तस्य पादौ जग्राह प्रणिपत्य चैनमाह भगवन् मयैतदज्ञानादनुष्ठितं प्रसादं मे कुरु नैवंविधः पुत्रो भवतु काममेवंविधः पौत्रो भवत्वित्युक्तो मुनिरथाहैवमस्त्विति। अनन्तरञ्च सा जमदग्निमजीजनत् तन्माता च विश्वामित्रं जनयामास॥

"ṛishi drinker of the Soma; give me unchanging wealth."[57] Has this verse any reference to the union of sacerdotal sanctity with kingly rank in the person of Viśwāmitra?

In the 11th and 12th Khandas of the 2d Section of the Sarvasāra Upanishad (Indische Studien, I. 390) mention is made of Viśwāmitra having been instructed on the identity of breath (*prāṇa*) with the god Indra, by Indra himself; who, to his great delight, had been celebrated by Viśwāmitra, at a sacrifice where he officiated as *hotṛi*, in a thousand Vrihatī verses.

### Section VIII.—*History of Triśanku.*

I shall now proceed to cite the different Puranic legends in which Vaśishtha and Viśwāmitra are represented as coming into conflict.

In the 3d chapter of the IVth Book of the Vishṇu Purana (p. 371 of Wilson's trans.) we find a story about a king Satyavrata, also called Triśanku, the 26th in descent from Ikshwāku, who had become degraded to the condition of an outcast. "During a twelve years' famine, he suspended deer's "flesh for the support of Viśwāmitra's wife and children, on a *nyagrodha* "tree on the banks of the Ganges; intending (by this device) to spare "them the humiliation of receiving a gift from a Chāndāla. Viśwāmitra "being delighted with this conduct, raised him with his body to heaven."[58]

This story is narrated at greater length in the Harivanśa (Sections 12 and 13); where Vaśishṭha also is introduced, being thus made contemporary both with Ikshwāku, and with his descendant, separated from him by twenty-six generations. But Hindu mythology, with its boundless re-

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[57] Rig Veda, III. 43. 5. कुविन्मा गोपां करसे जनस्य कुविद् राजानं मघवन् ऋजीषन्। कुविन्मा ऋषिं पपिवांसं सुतस्य कुविन्मे वस्वो अमृतस्य शिक्षाः॥

[58] Vishnu Pur. IV. 3. 13, 14. द्वादशवार्षिक्यामनावृष्ट्यां विश्वामित्रकलत्रापत्यपोषणार्थं चाण्डालप्रतिग्रहपरिहरणाय च जाह्नवीतीरन्यग्रोधे मृगमांसमनुदिनं ववन्ध॥१३॥ परितुष्टेन च विश्वामित्रेण सशरीरः स्वर्गमारोपितः॥१४॥ In the Mahābhārata, Sānti Parva, verses 5330—5420, (referred to by Weber in his Indische Studien, I. 475. note,) we have a story of Viśwāmitra eating, or proposing to eat, dog's flesh in a time of famine at the period between the end of the Tretā age and beginning of the Dwāpara; and holding a colloquy on this subject with a Chandāla. The same circumstance is referred to in Manu, X. 108. क्षुधार्त्तश्चाददे भक्ष्यं विश्वामित्रः श्वजाघनीम्। चण्डालहस्तादादाय धर्माधर्मविचक्षणः॥ "And Viśwāmitra, who knew what was right and "wrong, determined to eat a dog's thigh, taking it from a Chandāla's "hand."

sources in supernatural machinery, and in the doctrine of transmigration, can reconcile all discrepancies, and get rid of all anachronisms, making any sage reappear in a new form, at any juncture when his presence may be required, another and yet the same.

The Harivanśa states that Satyavrata (Triśanku) was expelled from his home by his father for the offence of carrying off the wife of one of the citizens;[59] and that Vaśishṭha did not interpose to prevent his banishment.[60] His father retired to the woods to live as a hermit; and in consequence of the wickedness which had been done, Indra sent no rain for twelve years. At that time Viśwāmitra had left his wife and children, and gone to practise austerities on the sea shore. His wife, driven by want, was on the point of selling one of her sons for a hundred cows in order to support the rest; when he was liberated by Satyavrata, and maintained along with his mother. Meanwhile, (the story proceeds), "Vaśishṭha, from the relation subsisting between the king and himself "as spiritual preceptor and disciple, governed the city of Ayodhyā, the "country, and the interior of the royal palace. Satyavrata from folly, or "the force of destiny, continued to be greatly incensed against Vaśishṭha; "who had not interposed to prevent his exclusion by his father from the "succession to the throne. 'The marriage ceremonial is not completed,' "Satyavrata said, 'till the seventh step is taken,[61] and this step had not "been taken when I seized the damsel: still Vaśishṭha, who knows the law, "dost not come to my aid.' Vaśishṭha, however, had acted from a sense of "what was due; but Triśanku did not recognise the propriety of the "penance which had been imposed on him." . . . . . "When Satyavrata "had supported his arduous penance [for twelve years, he supposed that] "he had thus purchased back his caste. But Vaśishṭha, who had not "prevented his banishment by his father, resolved to install his son as "king. When Satyavrata had done penance for twelve years, he beheld, "on one occasion when he was without food, the cow of Vaśishṭha which "fulfilled all desires; and under the influence of anger, delusion, ex-"haustion, and hunger, and failing in the ten duties, he slew her, . . . . .

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[59] Harivanśa, Sect. 12, verses 718, 720. येन भार्य्या हृता पूर्वं कृतोद्वाहा परस्य वै। . . . . . जहार कामात् कन्यां स कस्यचित पुरवासिनः॥

[60] Harivanśa, Sect. 12, verse 722. न च तं वारयामास वशिष्ठो भगवानृषिः॥

[61] "The next ceremony is the bride's stepping seven steps. It is the "most material of all the nuptial rites; for the marriage is complete and "irrevocable, so soon as she has taken the seventh step, and no sooner." Colebrooke, Misc. Essays, I. 218.

" and himself partook of her flesh, and gave it to Viśwāmitra's sons to " eat. Vaśishṭha, hearing of this, became incensed against him;" and imposed on him the name of Triśanku, as he had committed three sins. At this juncture Viśwāmitra returned home, and " being pleased at the support " which Triśanku had afforded to his wife, he offered him the choice of a " boon. Triśanku chose the boon of ascending alive to heaven. All ap- " prehension from the twelve years' drought being now at an end, the Muni " (Viśwāmitra) performed sacrifice for Triśanku, and installed him on his " paternal throne. The mighty Kauśika then, in spite of the resistance of " the gods and of Vaśishṭha, exalted his protegé alive to heaven." [62]

The legend of Triśanku is also recorded, though differently, in the Ist Book of the Rāmāyaṅa; but as it is there introduced as a chapter in the continuous history of Viśwāmitra's conflicts with Vaśishṭha, given in Sections 51—65 of that Book, I shall defer citing it till I take up that narrative.

### SECT. IX.—*Legend of Hariśchandra.*

The son of Triśanku, the subject of the preceding legend, was Hariś-

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[62] Harivanśa, Sect. 12, verses 733 et seqq. अयोध्याञ्चैव राष्ट्रञ्च तथैवान्तःपुरं मुनिः। याज्योपाध्यायसम्बन्धाद् वशिष्ठः पर्य्यरक्षत ॥ सत्यव्रतस्तु बाल्याद् वै भावि-नोऽर्थस्य वा बलात्। वशिष्ठेऽभ्यधिकं मन्युं धारयामास नित्यदा ॥ पित्रा हि तं तदा राज्यात् त्यज्यमानं स्वमात्मजम्। न वारयामास मुनिर्वशिष्ठः कारणेन ह ॥ पाणिग्रहणमन्त्राणां निष्ठा स्यात् सप्तमे पदे। नच सत्यव्रतस्तस्माद् धृतवान् सप्तमे पदे ॥ जानन् धर्मान् वशिष्ठस्तु न मां त्यातीति भारत। सत्यव्रतस्तदा रोषं वशिष्ठे मनसाऽकरोत् ॥ गुणबुद्धा तु भगवान् वशिष्ठः कृतवांस्तदा। न च सत्यव्रतस्तस्य तमुपांशुमबुध्यत ॥ ..... तेन त्विदानीं वहता दीक्षां तां दुर्वहां भुवि। कुलस्य निष्कृतिस्तात कृता सा वै भवेदिति ॥ न तं वशिष्ठो भगवान् पित्रा त्यक्तं न्यवा-रयत्। अभिषेक्ष्याम्यहं पुत्रमस्येत्येवं मतिर्मुनेः ॥ स तु द्वादशवर्षाणि तां दीक्षामु-द्वहन् बली। अविद्यमाने मांसे तु वशिष्ठस्य महात्मनः। सर्वकामदुघां दोग्ध्रीं ददर्श स नृपात्मजः। तां वै क्रोधाच्च मोहाच्च श्रमाच्चैव क्षुधार्दितः। दशधर्मगतो राजा जघान जनमेजय ॥ ..... तच्च मांसं स्वयञ्चैव विश्वामित्रस्य चात्मजान्। भोजयामास तच्छ्रुत्वा वशिष्ठोऽप्यस्य चुक्रुधे ॥ ..... विश्वामित्रस्तु दाराणामा-गतो भरणे कृते। स तु तस्मै वरं प्रादाद् मुनिः प्रीतस्त्रिशङ्कवे ॥ छन्द्यमानो वरेणाथ वरं वव्रे नृपात्मजः। सशरीरो व्रजे स्वर्गमित्येवं याचितो वरः ॥ अना-वृष्टिभये तस्मिन् गते द्वादशवार्षिके। पित्र्येऽभिषिच्य राज्ये तु याजयामास तं मुनिः ॥ मिषतां देवतानाञ्च वशिष्ठस्य च कौशिकः। सशरीरं तदा तं तु दिवमा-रोपयत् प्रभुः ॥

chandra; who according to the Mārkaṇḍēya and Padma Puranas gave up his whole country, and sold his wife, and son, and finally himself, in satisfaction of Viśwāmitra's demands for money. (See Wilson's Vish. Pur. p. 372, note 9.) The following is an abstract of the story as told in the Mārkaṇḍēya, Book I, Sections 7—9. It appears to have had a polemical import, and intentionally to represent the rival of the Brahmans, Viśwāmitra, in the most unfavourable colours. The sufferings of Hariśchandra, his wife, and son, are very pathetically depicted. Hariśchandra (the narrative begins) was a royal ṛishi, who lived in the Trētā age, and was renowned for his virtues, and the universal prosperity which prevailed during his rule. On one occasion, when hunting, the king heard a sound of lamentation, which proceeded, it appears, from the Sciences, who were becoming mastered by the austere sage Viśwāmitra in a way they never had been before; and were consequently crying out in alarm at his superiority. King Hariśchandra, in fulfilment of his duty as the defender of the weak, exclaimed, "What sinner is this who is binding fire in the hem of his garment, though "I, his king, am present, resplendent with fiery vigour? He shall to-day "enter on his long sleep, all his limbs pierced by arrows shot from my bow, "and illuminating all the heavens."[63] Viśwāmitra was incensed on hearing these words; but Hariśchandra submissively represented that he had merely done his duty as a king, which he defined to be, the bestowal of gifts on eminent Brahmans and other poor persons, the protection of the timid, and conflict with enemies. Viśwāmitra hereupon demands a fee as a Brahman intent on performing [a certain ceremony?]. The king offers him whatever he may ask. He demands first the fee for the Rājasūya sacrifice. On this being promised, and still more offered, he asks for the empire of the whole earth, including everything "but Harischandra's wife, son, himself, and "his virtue, which follows its possessor wherever he goes."[64] The king agrees: Viśwāmitra then requires him to give up his clothes and ornaments, and to quit the kingdom with his wife and son. When he is departing, the sage stops him, and demands payment of his yet unpaid sacrificial fee. The king replies that he has only the persons of his wife, his son, and himself left. Viśwāmitra rejoins that he must nevertheless pay; and "that

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[63] Mārk. Pur. I. 7. 12, 13. कोऽयं बध्नाति वस्त्रान्ते पावकं पापकृन्नरः । बलोद्धतेजसा दीप्ते मयि पत्यावुपस्थिते ॥ सोऽद्य मत्कार्मुकाक्षेपविदीपितदिगन्तरैः । शरैर्विभिन्नसर्वाङ्गो दीर्घनिद्रां प्रवेक्ष्यति ॥

[64] Mārk. Pur. I. 7. 28, 29. विना भार्य्याञ्च पुत्रञ्च शरीरञ्च तवानघ । धर्मञ्च सर्वधर्मज्ञ यो यान्तमनुगच्छति ॥

"unfulfilled promises to Brahmans are most ruinous."[65] Hariśchandra engages to pay in a month; and commences his departure, amid the universal lamentations of his subjects. While he lingers, Viśwāmitra comes up, and being incensed at the delay, strikes the queen with his staff. All this Hariśchandra endures with patience, uttering no complaint. "Then "the five Viswēdēvas, merciful gods, exclaimed: 'To what world will this "sinner Viśwāmitra go, who has expelled this most excellent of sacrificers "from his own kingdom? Whose faith shall now sanctify the Soma-juice "poured out with mantras at the great sacrifice, that we may drink it, and "be exhilarated?'"[66] Viśwāmitra heard what they said, and by a curse doomed them to become men; relenting however so far as to exempt them from having offspring, and promising that they should again become gods.

Hariśchandra proceeded, with his wife and son, to Benares, imagining that this divine city, as the special abode of Śiva, could not be possessed by any mortal. Here, however, he found the relentless Viśwāmitra waiting for him; ready to press his demand for the payment of his fee even before the full expiration of the period of grace. In this extremity the queen proposes that her husband should sell her. On hearing this proposal the king swoons, and the queen seeing his sad condition, swoons also. When they are in this condition, their child exclaims in his distress: "O father, father, "give me bread; O mother, mother, give me food; hunger overpowers "me, and my tongue is parched."[67] At this moment Viśwāmitra returns, and after recalling the king to consciousness by sprinkling water over him, again urges payment of the fee, on pain of his curse. Being now pressed by his wife the king agrees to sell her; "thus doing what the most in-"human wretches could not perpetrate;—if he can utter the cruel word."[68] He then goes into the city, and in self-accusing language, offers his wife for sale as a slave. A rich old Brahman offers to buy her, to do his household work. Hariśchandra's heart was torn, and he could make no reply. The

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[65] Mārk. Pur. I. 7. 38. विशेषतो ब्राह्मणानां हन्यदत्तं प्रतिश्रुतम् ॥

[66] Mārk. Pur. I. 7. 62, 63. अथ विश्वे तदा देवाः पञ्च प्राहुः कृपालवः। विश्वामित्रः सुपापोऽयं लोकान् कान् समवाप्स्यति ॥ येनायं यज्ञनां श्रेष्ठः स्वराज्यादवरोपितः। कस्य वा श्रद्धया पूतं सुतं सोमं महाध्वरे। पीत्वा वयं प्रयास्यामो मुदं मन्त्रपुरःसरम् ॥

[67] Mārk. Pur. I. 8. 35. तात तात ददस्वान्नम् अम्बाम्ब भोजनं दद। क्षुन्मे बलवती जाता जिह्वाग्रं शुष्यते तथा ॥

[68] Mārk. Pur. I. 8. 48, 49. नृशंसैरपि यत् कर्तुं न शक्यं तत् करोम्यहम्। यदि मे शक्यते वाणी वक्तुमीदृक् सुदुर्वचः ॥

Brahman then paid down the price, and was dragging away the queen by the hair of her head, when her little son Rohitaśwa, seeing his mother so treated, began to weep, and laid hold of her clothes. The queen cries, "Let me go, let me go, till I look upon my son. I shall hardly ever "behold him again: come, my darling, see thy mother now become a "slave. Touch me not, my son, I may no longer be handled by thee." The child again runs up, his eyes red with weeping, and crying, 'Mother, mother.' The Brahman purchaser kicked him, as he came up; but he would not let his mother go, calling out, 'Mother, mother.' The queen then entreated the Brahman to buy her son also, as without him she herself would be a useless purchase. The old Brahman agrees: "Take this "money, and give me the boy." [69] When his wife and son were being carried away, the king broke out into lamentations; "She, my spouse, "whom formerly neither air, nor sun, nor moon, nor stranger had beheld, "is now gone into slavery. This my son, a scion of the solar race, with "his delicate hands, has been sold. O wretch that I am!" [70] When the Brahman had disappeared with his slaves, Viśwāmitra again came up; and on the afflicted Hariśchandra offering him the price he had obtained for his wife and son, he angrily tells the king that "if he thinks this sum adequate "to his high deserts, he will soon let him see the power of his austere devo- "tion, his pure Brahmanhood, his tremendous might, and his holy know- "ledge." [71] Hariśchandra promises more, and the sage allows him the fourth part of a day for payment. On the king offering himself for

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[69] Mārk. Pur. I. 8. 59 et seqq. मुञ्चार्य्ये मुञ्च तावन्मां यावत् पश्याम्यहं शिशुम् । दुर्लभं दर्शनं तात पुनरस्य भविष्यति ॥ पश्यैहि वत्स मामेवं मातरं दास्यतां गताम् । मां मा स्प्राक्षीराजपुत्र अस्पृश्याऽहं तवाधुना ॥ ततः स बालः सहसा दृष्ट्वा कृष्टां तु मातरम् । समभ्यधावदम्बेति रुदन् सासाविलेक्षणः ॥ समागतं द्विजः क्रेता बालमभ्याहनत् पदा । वदंस्तथापि सोऽम्बेति नैवामुञ्चत मातरम् ॥ राजपत्न्युवाच ॥ प्रसादं कुरु मे नाथ क्रीणीष्वेमञ्च बालकम् । क्रीतापि नाहं भवतो विनैनं कार्य्यसाधिका ॥ ..... ब्राह्मण उवाच ॥ गृह्यतां विप्रमेतत्ते दीयतां बालको मम । The whole reads like a scene from "Uncle Tom's Cabin."

[70] Mārk. Pur. I. 8. 68, 69. यां न वायुर्न चादित्यो नेन्दुर्न च पृथग्जनः । दृष्टवन्तः पुरा पत्नीं सेयं दासीत्वमागता ॥ सूर्य्यवंशप्रसूतोऽयं सुकुमारकराङ्गुलिः । सम्प्राप्तो विक्रयं बालो धिङ्मामस्तु सुदुर्मतिम् ॥

[71] Mārk. Pur. I. 8. 74, 75. क्षत्रबन्धो ममेमां त्वं सदृशीं यज्ञदक्षिणाम् । मन्यसे यदि तत् क्षिप्रं पश्य त्वं मे बलं परम् ॥ तपसोऽत्र सुतप्तस्य ब्राह्मण्यस्यामलस्य च । मन्त्रप्रभावस्य चोग्रस्य शुद्धस्याध्ययनस्य च ॥

sale, in order to acquire the means of meeting the demand, Dharma (Righteousness) appears in the form of a hideous and offensive Chaṇḍāla, and offers to buy him at his own price, large or small. Hariśchandra declines, when Viśwāmitra arrives, and angrily threatens to curse him if he does not accept the large sum the Chaṇḍāla offers, and pay the fee. Hariśchandra offers to be Viśwāmitra's slave in payment of the residue of his debt; on which the sage instantly rejoins: "If thou art my slave, "then I sell thee to the Chandāla for a hundred millions of money." [72] The Chandāla, delighted, paid down the money, and carried off Hariśchandra bound, and overwhelmed with blows. The king was sent by his master to steal graveclothes in a cemetery, (which is described with all its horrors); and is told that he should receive one third of the value for his hire. After he had passed a long time there in great misery, his wife came to perform the obsequies of her son, who had died from the bite of a serpent. After a time the king recognises his wife, and she him; when they both break out into lamentations, the father bewailing his dead son, and the wife, her husband's degradation. At length the king resolves to perish on his son's funeral pyre; hoping for "a reunion with his wife and son in "another world, as the reward of his liberality, his sacrifices, and his dutiful "behaviour to his religious teachers." [73] His wife determines to die in like manner. When Hariśchandra, after placing his son's body on the funeral pile, is meditating on the supreme Spirit, and various forms of the deity, all the gods arrive, headed by Dharma (Righteousness), and accompanied by Viśwāmitra.[74] Dharma entreats the king to refrain from his rash intention;

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[72] Mārk. Pur. I. 8. 95. यदि प्रेष्यो मम भवान् चाण्डालाय ततो मया। दासभावमनुप्राप्तो दत्तो वित्तार्बुदेन वै ॥

[73] Mārk. Pur. I. 8. 224, 225. यदि दत्तं यदि हुतं गुरवो यदि तोषिताः ॥ परत्र सङ्गमो भूयात् पुत्रेण सह च त्वया ॥ I know not if this idea of family reunion in another life be common in the Indian mythology or poetry. But from the texts quoted by Mr. Colebrooke "on the duties of a faithful Hindu "widow," (Misc. Ess. I. 115—117,) it appears that the widow who becomes a *satī*, has the promise of rejoining her husband, and enjoying celestial felicity in his society. It might have been supposed that such a hope could scarcely have been cherished, alongside of the doctrine of metempsychosis, and except where a clear expectation existed that our proper humanity would not be liable to disappear in a future state. But natural instincts are stronger than mythologies or philosophy.

[74] An attempt is here made (verses 234, 235) to explain the name of Viśwāmitra, (he who is unfriendly, *ămitra*, to all, *viśwa*, or to the gods called

and Indra announces to him that he with his wife and son have conquered heaven. The king however declares that he cannot go to heaven till he has received his master the Chaṇḍāla's assent, and paid him a ransom. Dharma (Righteousness) then informs Hariśchandra that it was he himself who had taken the form of a Chandāla. The king next objects that he cannot go to heaven unless his faithful subjects, who are sharers in all his merits, are permitted to accompany him, at least for a day. This is granted by Indra; and after Viśwāmitra has inaugurated Rohitāśwa, the king's son, to be his successor, they all accompany Hariśchandra to heaven. Even after this great consummation, however, Vaśishṭha, the family priest of Hariśchandra, hearing of all that has occurred, becomes vehemently incensed at the humiliation inflicted on the excellent monarch by Viśwāmitra, and dooms the latter in these words to be transformed into a crane (*vaka*): "wherefore that wicked enemy of the Brahmans, being smitten by my "curse, shall be expelled from the society of intelligent beings, and be "changed into a senseless crane."[75] Viśwāmitra retorts the curse, and changes Vaśishṭha into a bird called *āṛi*. In their new forms they fought furiously,[76] the *āṛi* being of the portentous height of 2000 *yojanas*, (= 18000

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*Viśwas*,) by the information that "He whom formerly the three Viśwas "could not induce to be their friend, desires now to obtain thy friendship "and good-will." विश्वत्रयेण यो मित्रं कर्त्तुं न शक्तिः पुरा । विश्वामित्रस्तु ते मैत्रीमिष्ट्वाहर्त्तुमिच्छति ॥

[75] Märk. Pur. I. 9. 9. तस्माद् दुरात्मा ब्रह्मद्विट् प्राज्ञानामवरोपितः । मच्छापोपहतो मूढः स वकत्वमवाप्स्यति ॥

[76] On the subject of this fight the Bhāgavata Purāna has the following verse: IX. 7. 6. "The son of Triśanku was Hariśchandra; on whose "account Viśwāmitra and Vaśishṭha in the form of birds had a battle of "many years' duration." त्रैशङ्कवो हरिश्चन्द्रो विश्वामित्रवशिष्ठयोः । यन्मित्रमभूद् युद्धं पक्षिणोर्बहुवार्षिकम् ॥ On this the commentator remarks; "Viśwāmitra, on pretence of taking his sacrificial fees for a rājasūya sacri-"fice, stripped Hariśchandra of all his property and afflicted him. Vaśishṭha, "hearing of this, became incensed, and by an imprecation turned him into "an *Āṛi*. Viśwāmitra retorted the curse, and changed Vaśishṭha into a "*Vāka*. And then a battle took place between them, as is notorious." विश्वामित्रो राजसूयदक्षिणाच्छलेन हरिश्चन्द्रसर्वस्वमपहृत्य यातयामास । तच्छ्रुत्वा कुपितो वशिष्ठोऽपि विश्वामित्रं त्वमाडी भवेति शशाप । सोऽपि त्वं वको भवेति वशिष्ठं शशाप तयोश्च युद्धमभूदिति प्रसिद्धम् ॥

miles,) and the crane of 3090 *yojanas*. The crane smote his antagonist with his wings, while the long-necked *āṛi* struck with his talons. Falling mountains, overturned by the blasts from their wings, shook the whole earth; the waters of the ocean overflowed, and the earth itself sloped downwards towards Pātāla, the lower regions. Many creatures perished by these convulsions. Attracted by the dire disorder, Brahmā arrived on the spot, and commanded the combatants to desist. They were too much infuriated to regard this injunction; but Brahmā put an end to the strife by restoring them to their natural forms, and counselling them to be reconciled. "The "son of Kuśika (Viśwāmitra) has not inflicted any wrong on Hariśchandra. "As he has been the cause of the king's elevation to heaven, he is his "benefactor. Abandon your wrath: the power of devotion [or the Brah-"manical power] is transcendant."[77] The sages were accordingly pacified, and embraced each other.

That this legend had not merely the object of exhibiting the severity of the trial to which Hariśchandra was subjected, and the fortitude and other virtues which this trial called into exercise, but was also intended to represent Viśwāmitra in the most unamiable light, as an oppressive assertor of those Brahmanical prerogatives which he had conquered for himself by his austerities, appears from the conclusion, where Vaśishṭha is made to express his strong indignation at the conduct of his rival. Brahmā, therefore, in his apology for Viśwāmitra's conduct, could only mean to represent that sage as the involuntary, not the intentional, benefactor of the king: unless we venture to impute sophistical reasoning to the god.

### SECT. X.—*History of Sāgăra.*

Vaśishṭha appears again, as family priest, in the history of Sagara, the eighth in descent from Hariśchandra; and is reported to have interposed to save the Śakas, Yavanas, and Kāmbojas from extermination by that prince, though they were expelled from the Brahmanical communion, and degraded from the rank of Kshatriyas to the condition of Mlechhas. (Wilson, Vishnu Purana, pp. 374, 5.) This legend will be noticed more in detail, when we come (further on) to specify the opinions of the Indian writers regarding the connexion of other nations with their own.

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[77] Mārk. Pur. I. 9. 28, 29. न चापि कौशिकश्रेष्ठस्तस्य राज्ञोऽपराध्यते । स्वर्गप्राप्तिकरो ब्रह्मन्नुपकारपदे स्थितः ॥ ..... परित्यजत भद्रं वो ब्रह्म हि प्रचुरं बलम् ॥

SECT. XI.—*Contests of Vaśishṭha and Viśwāmitra according to the Mahābhārata.*

The Mahābhārata (Ist Book, Sections 174, 5) contains another legend, in the Brahmanical interest, regarding these two great personages, which is preceded by the following panegyric on Vaśishṭha, at the expense of his rival. The speaker is a Gandharva, who is addressing Arjuna. "Vaśish-
"ṭha was the mind-born son of Brahmā, and husband of Arundhatī.[78] By
"his austerities lust and anger, invincible even by the gods, were van-
"quished, and caressed [?] his feet. Restraining his indignation at the wrong
"done by Viśwāmitra, he magnanimously abstained from exterminating

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[78] In the following lines addressed to Draupădī in the Ist Book of the Mahābhārata, Sect. 189, verse 7352, Arundhatī is again mentioned as the wife of Vaśishṭha: यथेन्द्राणी हरिहये स्वाहाचैव विभावसौ । रोहिणी च यथा सोमे दमयन्ती यथा नले । यथा वैश्रवणे भद्रा वशिष्ठे चाप्यरुन्धती । यथा नारायणे लक्ष्मीस्तथा त्वं भव भर्तृषु ॥ "What Indrāṇī has been to Indra,
"Swāhā to the Sun, Rohiṇī to the Moon, Damayantī to Nala, Bhadrā to
"Kuvēra, Arundhatī to Vaśishṭha, and Lakshmī to Vishṇu, that be thou
"to thy husbands." Arundhatī is again mentioned in the Ist Book of the Mahābhārata, verses 8455 et seqq. सुव्रता चापि कल्याणी सर्वभूतेषु विश्रुता । अरुन्धती महात्मानं वशिष्ठं पर्यशङ्कत । विशुद्धभावमत्यन्तं सदा प्रियहिते रतम् । सप्तर्षिमध्यगं वीरमवमेने च तं मुनिम् । अपध्यानेन सा तेन धूमारुणसमप्रभा । लक्ष्याऽलक्ष्या नाभिरूपा निमित्तमिव पश्यति । "The affectionate and fortu-
"nate Arundhatī, who was renowned in all the universe, suspected the
"great Vaśishṭha, whose nature was eminently pure, and who was conti-
"nually devoted to the wellbeing of those whom he loved; and she treated
"contemptuously that heroic muni, who was one of the seven Ṛishis. In
"consequence of these evil surmises, she became of the dusky colour of
"smoke; and destitute of beauty, with her unsightliness exposed [?], she
"regards all this as an omen [?]." See above, p. 81, two passages, where Akshamālā is spoken of as Vaśishṭha's spouse. In reference to the magnanimous character assigned in the text to Vaśishṭha, I quote a passage from the Vishnu Purana, I. IX. 17, (p. 71 of Wilson's translation,) where we find the irascible sage Durvāsas thus speaking of that ṛishi's amiable temper, as a contrast to his own fierce and formidable character: वशिष्ठाद्यैर्दयासारैः स्तोत्रं कुर्वद्भिरुच्चकैः । गर्वं गतोऽसि येनैवं मामयाद्यावमन्यसे ॥ "Thou (Indra) hast
"become proud through the loud praises offered by Vaśishṭha and other
"compassionate sages; since thou thus contemnest me."

"the race of the Kuśikas. When distressed by the loss of his sons, he "acted, though mighty, like one who was powerless, and undertook no "dreadful rite to destroy Viśwāmitra. To recover those sons from the "destructive power of Yăma, he would not overstep fate, as the ocean "respects its shores. Having gained this great and self-restraining per- "sonage, the kings of Ikshwāku's race acquired the dominion of the earth. "Possessing this excellent ṛishi Vaśishṭha for their priest, they offered "sacrifice. This Brahman-ṛishi performed sacrificial rites for all those "monarchs, as Vrihaspăti does for the immortals. Wherefore let some de- "sirable Brahman, endowed with good qualities, whose chief characteristic "is religion, and who is skilled in Vedic observances, be selected as a family- "priest. Let a well born Kshatriya, who wishes to subdue the earth, first "appoint a priest, in order to acquire dominion."[79] The 175th Section goes on to say that Viśwāmitra, son of Gādhi, king of Kānyakubja (Canouj), and grandson of Kuśika, when out hunting, came to the hermitage of Vaśishṭha, and was received with all honour, entertained, together with his attendants, with delicious food and drink, and presented with precious jewels and dresses, obtained by the sage from his wonder-working cow, the fulfiller of all his desires.[80] The cupidity of Viśwāmitra was excited by the

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[79] Mahābhārata, Ādi Parva, Sect. 174, verses 6638 et seqq. ब्रह्मणो मानसः पुत्रो वशिष्ठोऽरुन्धतीपतिः । तपसा निर्जितौ शश्वदजेयावमरैरपि । कामक्रोधावुभौ यस्य चरणौ संववाहतुः । यस्तु नोच्छेदनं चक्रे कुशिकानामुदारधीः । विश्वामित्रापराधेन धारयन् मन्युमुत्तमम् । पुत्रव्यसनसन्तप्तः शक्तिमानप्यशक्तवत् । विश्वामित्रविनाशाय न चक्रे कर्म दारुणम् । मृतांश्च पुनराहर्तुं यः स पुत्रान् यमक्षयात् । कृतान्तं नातिचक्राम वेलामिव महोदधिः । यं प्राप्य विजितात्मानं महात्मानं नराधिपाः । इक्ष्वाकवो महीपाला लेभिरे पृथिवीमिमाम् । पुरोहितमिमं प्राप्य वशिष्ठमृषिसत्तमम् । ईजिरे क्रतुभिश्चैव नृपास्ते कुरुनन्दन । स हि तान् याजयामास सर्वान् नृपतिसत्तमान् । ब्रह्मर्षिः पाण्डवश्रेष्ठ बृहस्पतिरिवामरान् । तस्माद् धर्मप्रधानात्मा वेदधर्मविद् ईप्सितः । ब्राह्मणो गुणवान् कश्चित् पुरोधाः परिदृश्यताम् । क्षत्रियेणाभिजातेन पृथिवीं जेतुमिच्छता । पूर्वं पुरोहितः कार्यः पार्थ राज्याभिसिद्धये ॥

[80] Lassen remarks, (in his Indische Alterthumskunde, I. 523, note,) that Atharvan is given in the lexicons as a name of Vaśishṭha. (See Wilson's Dict., sub voce.) Weber (in his Indische Studien, I. 289) quotes from Mallinātha's commentary on the Kirātārjunīya the following words: अथर्वणस्तु मन्त्रोद्धारो वशिष्ठेन कृत इत्यागमः. It is recorded in the Śāstras that the mantras of the Atharvan were preserved, [arranged?], by Vaśishṭha. In

sight of this beautiful animal, (all of whose fine points are enumerated in the legend); and he offered Vaśishṭha a hundred millions of cows, or his kingdom, as her price. His offer was rejected. He then said "he was a "Kshatriya, and Vaśishṭha a Brahman, whose function was devotion and "study; one of a class who were gentle and destitute of power;—and that "as his offer was refused, he would act agreeably to the character of his "caste, and take the cow by force." [81] Vaśishṭha told him to do as he proposed without loss of time. Viśwāmitra seized the cow; but she would not move from the hermitage, though violently beaten with whip and stick; and demanded of Vaśishṭha why he did not help her. Vaśishṭha replied that "force was the strength of a Kshatriya, but patience of a Brahman; "and that, as he was endowed with patience, she might leave him, if she "pleased." [82] The cow, in reply, enquired if he meant to abandon her; as, unless forsaken by him, she could never be carried off by force. Being assured by Vaśishṭha that he did not forsake her, and that she should remain, if she could;—the cow tossed her head aloft, and assumed a terrific aspect; her eyes became red with rage; she uttered a deep bellowing sound, and put to flight the soldiers of Viśwāmitra. She was again smitten with whip and staff, when her body glowed like the midday sun, and she discharged showers of firebrands from her tail. From various parts of her body she created Pahlavas, Drāviḍas, Śakas, Yavanas, and other tribes of armed warriors, who overwhelmed Viśwāmitra's men with a great discharge of missiles. "Beholding this miraculous display of Brahmanical might, Viśwā-

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Böhtlingk and Roth's Dictionary, sub voce Atharvan, it is noticed that the eleventh hymn of the Vth Book of the Atharva Veda contains a conversation of Atharvan with Varuṇa relative to a wonderful cow bestowed by the latter on the sage, which the god wished to get back, but was persuaded to give up. From this legend perhaps the subsequent connexion of the names of Vaśishṭha and Atharvan may be explicable. The cow is spoken of, Atharva Veda, VII. 104, as "the prolific cow given by Varuṇa to Atharvan, which "never lacked a calf." पृश्निं धेनुं वरुणेन दत्तामथर्वणे नित्यवत्साम्। Atharvan and Vaśishtha are, however, in Roth's estimation, distinct personages. Abhandlung über den Atharva Veda. Tübingen, 1856, p. 9.

[81] Mahābhārata, Ādi Parva, Sect. 175, verses 6665—6. क्षत्रियोऽहं भवान् विप्रस्तपःस्वाध्यायसाधनः। ब्राह्मणेषु कुतो वीर्य्यं प्रशान्तेषु धृतात्मसु॥ अर्बुदेन गवां यस्त्वं न ददासि ममेप्सितम्। स्वधर्मं न प्रहास्यामि नेष्यामि च बलेन गाम्॥

[82] Mahābhārata, Ādi Parva, Sect. 175, verse 6676. क्षत्रियाणां बलं तेजो ब्राह्मणानां क्षमा बलम्। क्षमा मां भजते यस्माद् गम्यतां यदि रोचते॥

" mitra was humbled at the discovery of his weakness as a Kshatriya, and " exclaimed: 'Shame on a Kshatriya's might: it is a Brahman's might that " is might indeed.' Having learned that austerity is the highest strength, he " abandoned his prosperous kingdom, and all its splendour; and rejecting " all earthly enjoyments, he devoted himself to austerity. When he had " by this means attained perfection, and astonished the worlds by his " power, he illuminated them by the blaze of his glory, having acquired " Brahmanhood; and at length the Kauśika drank Soma with Indra." [83]

SECT. XII.—*The same legend according to the Rāmāyăna.*

The same legend is narrated at greater length in the Ist Book of the Rāmāyăna, Sections 51—65; of which I shall give an outline, noting particularly any important variations from, or additions to, the account in the Mahābhārata. There was a king (the Rāmāyana tells us) called Kuśa, son of Prăjāpăti (Brahmā), who had a son called Kuśanābha, who was father of Gādhi, the father of Viśwāmitra. The latter ruled the earth for many thousand years. On one occasion when he was traversing the earth, attended by his army, he came to Vaśishṭha's hermitage, the pleasant abode of many holy devotees, where he was hospitably entertained, along with his followers, by that son of Brăhmā. Viśwāmitra, however, coveting the wondrous cow which had supplied all the dainties of the feast, first of all asked that she should be given to him in exchange for a hundred thousand cows; adding that she was a gem; that "the king was entitled to share in all gems " found in his country; and that the cow was therefore his by right." [84]

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[83] Mahābhārata, Ādi Parva, Sect. 175, verses 6679 et seqq. स्वीयतामिति तच्छ्रुत्वा वशिष्ठस्य पयस्विनी । ऊर्द्ध्वोन्नितशिरोग्रीवा प्रबभौ रौद्रदर्शना । क्रोधरक्तेक्षणा सा गौर्हम्भारवघनस्वना । विश्वामित्रस्य तत् सैन्यं व्यद्रावयत सर्वशः । ..... आदित्य इव मध्यान्हे क्रोधदीप्तवपुर्बभौ । अङ्गारवर्षं मुञ्चन्ती मुहुर्बालधितो महत् । असृजत् पह्लवान् पुच्छात् प्रस्रवाद् द्राविडाञ्छकान् । योनिदेशाच्च यवनान् शकृतः शवरान् बहून् । ..... दृष्ट्वा तन्महदाश्चर्यं ब्रह्मतेजोभवं तदा । विश्वामित्रः क्षत्रभावाद् निर्विण्णो वाक्यमब्रवीत् । धिग् बलं क्षत्रियबलं ब्रह्मतेजोबलं बलम् । बलाबलं विनिश्चित्य तप एव परं बलम् । स राज्यं स्फीतमुत्सृज्य ताञ्च दीप्तां नृपश्रियम् । भोगांश्च पृष्ठतः कृत्वा तपस्येव मनो दधे । स गत्वा तपसा सिद्धिं लोकान् विष्टभ्य तेजसा । ततप सर्वान् दीप्तौजा ब्राह्मणत्वमवाप्तवान् । अपिबच्च ततः सोममिन्द्रेण सह कौशिकः ॥

[84] Rāmāyăna I. Sect. 53, verse 9. रत्नं हि भगवन्नेतद् रत्नभागी च पार्थिवः । तस्मान्मे शवलां देहि ममैषा धर्मतो द्विज ॥

On this offer being refused, the king advanced immensely in his offers, but all without effect. He then proceeded to have the cow removed by force; but she broke away from his attendants, and rushed back to her master, complaining that he deserted her. He replied that he could not contend with the king, who was so much more powerful. The cow rejoined that "a Kshatriya's power was reputed as nothing, compared with a Brahman's, "which was far superior, and divine. Your might is immeasurable. The "powerful Viśwāmitra is not more mighty than you. Your force is in-"vincible. Commission me, who am an acquisition of your Brahmanical "power, and I will crush the pride and the host of the oppressor." [85] She accordingly created hundreds of Pāhlāvās, who discomfited the host of Viśwāmitra, but were slain by him in their turn. S'ākas and Yāvānas were then formed, who consumed the king's soldiers, but they also were routed by him. Other warriors were again created, who destroyed Viśwāmitra's entire army. A hundred of the monarch's sons then rushed on Vaśishṭha, but were all burnt up by the breath of that sage's mouth. Viśwāmitra, being thus fairly vanquished, betook himself to austerities, and thereby obtained from Māhādeva celestial weapons, by which, elated and full of pride, he consumed the hermitage of Vaśishṭha. He then brandished a fiery weapon at the hermit himself, who defied him: "'What comparison is there between a Brah-"man's and a Kshatriya's might; behold, thou contemptible Kshatriya, "my divine Brahmanical energy.' The dreadful fiery weapon uplifted by "the son of Gādhi was then quenched by the Brahmanical rod, as the fury "of fire is by water." [86] Many other celestial missiles, including the nooses of Brahmā, Time and Varuṇa, the discus of Vishṇu, and the trident of S'iva, were hurled by Viśwāmitra at his antagonist; but the latter swallowed them all up in his all-devouring rod. Finally, to the intense consternation of all the

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[85] Rāmāyāna I. Sect. 54, verse 14. न बलं क्षत्रियाहुर्ब्राह्मणा बलवत्तराः। ब्रह्मन् ब्रह्मबलं दिव्यं क्षात्राच्च बलवत्तरम् ॥ अप्रमेयं बलं तुभ्यं न त्वया बल-वत्तरः। विश्वामित्रो महावीर्य्यस्तेजस्तव दुरासदम् ॥ नियुंक्ष्व मां महातेजस्त्वं ब्रह्मबलसम्भृताम्। तस्य दर्पं बलं यत्नाच्छायामि दुरात्मनः ॥ Compare Manu XI. 32. स्वबीर्य्याद् राजबीर्य्याच्च स्वबीर्य्यं बलवत्तरम्। तस्मात् स्वेनैव बीर्य्येण निगृह्णीयादरीन् द्विजः ॥ "Let a Brahman know his own might to be "superior to the king's; by his own power therefore let him subdue his "enemies."

[86] Rāmāyāna, Sect. 56, verses 4 and 5. क्व च ते क्षत्रियबलं क्व च ब्रह्मबलं महत्। पश्य ब्रह्मबलं दिव्यं मम क्षत्रियपांशन ॥ तस्यास्त्रं गाधिपुत्रस्य घोरमग्ने-रमुद्यतम्। ब्रह्मदण्डेन तच्छान्तमग्नेर्वेग इवाम्भसा ॥

gods, the warrior shot off the terrific weapon of Brăhmā (*brăhmāstra*); but this was equally ineffectual against the Brahmanical sage. Vaśishṭha now assumed a direful appearance. Jets of fire mingled with smoke darted from the pores of his body: the Brahmanical rod blazed in his hand like a smoke-enveloped mundane conflagration, or a second sceptre of Yăma.[87] Being appeased, however, by the Munis, who proclaimed his superiority to his rival, the sage stayed his vengeance; and Viśwāmitra exclaimed with a groan, "Contemptible is a Kshatriya's might: a Brahman's might alone is might: "by the single Brahmanical rod all my weapons have been consumed." No alternative now remains to the humiliated monarch, but either to acquiesce in this helpless inferiority, or to work out his own elevation to the Brahmanical order. He embraces the latter alternative: "Having pondered "well this matter, I shall betake myself, with composed senses and mind, "to intense austerities, which shall exalt me to the rank of a Brahman."[88]

He travelled to the south, and carried his resolution into effect. At the end of a thousand years Brahmā appeared to him; and announced that by his penance he had merited the heaven of royal-sages (rājărshis), and had attained that rank.[89] Viśwāmitra, however, was ashamed, mortified, and incensed at the offer of so very inadequate a reward, and exclaimed: "I "have performed an intense penance; and the gods and ṛishis regard me "only as a rājarshi! Austerities, it appears, are altogether fruitless."[90] Notwithstanding this disappointment, he had ascended one grade, and forthwith recommenced his work of mortification.

At this point of time his penance was interrupted by the following occurrences: or at all events it appeared convenient to the compiler of the Ramayana to interweave the legend with this part of his story. King Triśanku, one of Ikshwāku's descendants, had conceived the design of

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[87] Rāmāyăna, Sect. 56, verses 18 and 19. रोमकूपेषु सर्वेषु वशिष्ठस्य महात्मनः। मरीच्य इव निष्पेतुरग्नेर्धूमाकुलार्चिषः॥ प्राज्वलद् ब्रह्मदण्डश्च वशिष्ठस्य करोद्यतः। सधूम इव कालाग्निर्यमदण्ड इवापरः॥

[88] Rāmāyăna, Sect. 56, verses 23 and 24. धिग् बलं क्षत्रियबलं ब्रह्मतेजोबलं बलम्। एकेन ब्रह्मदण्डेन सर्वास्त्राणि हतानि मे॥ तदेतत् प्रसमीक्ष्याहं प्रसन्नेन्द्रियमानसः। तपो महत् समास्थास्ये यद् वै ब्रह्मत्वकारणम्॥

[89] Rāmāyăna, Sect. 57, verse 5. जिता राजर्षिलोकास्ते तपसा कुशिकात्मज। अनेन तपसा त्वं हि राजर्षिरिति विश्रुतः॥

[90] Rāmāyăna, Sect. 57, verses 7 and 8. विश्वामित्रोऽपि तच्छ्रुत्वा ह्रिया किञ्चिदवाङ्मुखः। दुःखेन महताऽऽविष्टः समन्युरिदमब्रवीत्॥ तपश्च सुमहत् तप्तं राजर्षिरिति मां विदुः। देवाः सर्षिगणाः सर्वे नास्ति मन्ये तपःफलम्॥

celebrating a sacrifice by virtue of which he should ascend bodily to heaven. As Vaśishṭha, on being summoned, declared that the thing was impossible, Triśanku applied to his hundred sons, and received the following rebuke for his presumption: "Fool, thou hast been refused by thy infallible preceptor. "How is it that, disregarding his authority, thou hast resorted to another "school (*S'ākhā*)? The family priest is the highest oracle of all the Iksh-"wākus; and the command of that unerring personage cannot be trans-"gressed. Vaśishṭha, the divine ṛishi, has declared that 'the thing cannot "be;' and how can we undertake thy sacrifice?" [91] Triśanku then gave them to understand, that as his preceptor and his preceptor's sons had declined compliance with his requests, he should think of some other expedient. In consequence of his venturing to express this presumptuous intention, they condemned him by their imprecation to become a Chaṇḍāla.[92] As this curse soon took effect, the unhappy king resorted to Viśwāmitra, enlarging on his own virtues and piety, and bewailing his fate. Viśwāmitra commiserated his condition, and promised to sacrifice in his behalf, and exalt him to heaven in the same Chaṇḍāla-form to which he had been condemned by his preceptors' curse. "Heaven was now as good as in his "possession, since he had resorted to the son of Kuśika." [93] He then

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[91] Rāmāyăna, Sect. 58, verses 2 et seqq. **प्रत्याख्यातोऽसि दुर्बुद्धे गुरुणा सत्यवादिना । तं कथं समतिक्रम्य शाखान्तरमुपेयिवान् ॥ इक्ष्वाकूनां हि सर्वेषां पुरोधाः परमा गतिः । न चातिक्रमितुं शक्यं वचनं सत्यवादिनः ॥ अशक्यमिति चोवाच वशिष्ठो भगवानृषिः । तं वयं वै समाहर्त्तुं क्रतुं शक्ताः कथं तव ॥** It does not appear how Triśanku, in asking the aid of Vaśishṭha's sons after applying in vain to their father, could be charged with resorting to another *S'ākhā* (school), in the ordinary sense of that word: as it is not conceivable that the sons were of another S'ākhā from the father, whose cause they espouse with so much warmth. But they may have observed in Triśanku a tendency to repudiate the exclusive pretensions of the priestly order, which resulted in his applying to Viśwāmitra; or they may be anticipating what he was about to say. But I am forgetting that is a mere legend in which I am seeking for consistency.

[92] Rāmāyăna, Sect. 58, verses 7 and 8. **प्रत्याख्यातो भगवता गुरुपुत्रैस्तथैव च । अन्यां गतिं गमिष्यामि स्वस्ति वोऽस्तु तपोधनाः ॥ ऋषिपुत्रास्तु तच्छ्रुत्वा वाक्यं घोराभिसंहितम् । शेषुः परमसंक्रुद्धाश्चाण्डालत्वं गमिष्यसि ॥**

[93] Rāmāyăna, Sect. 59, verses 4 and 5. **गुरुशापकृतं रूपं यदिदं त्वयि वर्त्तते । अनेन सह रूपेण सशरीरो गमिष्यसि ॥ हस्तप्राप्तमहं मन्ये स्वर्गं तव नराधिप । यस्त्वं कौशिकमागम्य शरण्यः शरणं गतः ॥**

directed that preparations should be made for the sacrifice, and that all the Rishis, including the family of Vaśishṭha, should be invited to the ceremony. The disciples of Viśwāmitra who had conveyed his message, reported the result, on their return, in these words: "Having heard your message, all "the Brahmans are assembling from all countries, excepting Māhōdaya "(Vaśishṭha apparently). Hear what dreadful words those hundred Va- "śishṭhas, their voices quivering with rage, have uttered: '*How can the* "*gods and ṛishis consume the oblation at the sacrifice of that man, especially* "*if he be a Chandāla, to whom a Kshatriya is officiating-priest? How can* "*illustrious Brahmans ascend to heaven, after eating the food of a Chandāla,* "*and being entertained by Viśwāmitra?*' These ruthless words all the "Vaśishṭhas, together with Mahōdaya, uttered, their eyes red with anger."[94] Viśwāmitra, who was greatly incensed on receiving this message, cursed the sons of Vaśishṭha to be born as degraded outcasts for seven hundred births, and their parent Mahodaya himself to become a Nishāda. Viśwāmitra then proposed to the assembled ṛishis that the sacrifice should be celebrated. To this they assented, being actuated by fear of the sage's wrath. Viśwāmitra himself officiated (*yājăka*) at the sacrifice; and the others as priests (*ritwijah*) performed all the ceremonies. Viśwāmitra next invited the gods to partake of the oblations. "When, however, they did not come to receive their "portions, Viśwāmitra became full of wrath, and raising aloft the sacrificial "ladle, thus addressed Triśanku: 'Behold, o monarch, the power of "austere holiness acquired by my own efforts. I myself, by my own "energy, will conduct thee to heaven. Ascend to that celestial region "which is so arduous to attain in an earthly body. I have surely earned "*some* reward of my austerity.'"[95] Triśanku ascended instantly to heaven

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[94] Rāmāyăna, Sect. 59, verses 11—15. श्रुत्वा ते वचनं सर्वे समायान्ति द्विजातयः । सर्वदेशेषु चागच्छन् वर्जयित्वा महोदयम् ॥ वाशिष्ठं तच्छतं सर्वं क्रोधपर्याकुलाक्षरम् । यदुवाच वचो घोरं शृणु त्वं मुनिपुङ्गव ॥ क्षत्रियो याजको यस्य चण्डालस्य विशेषतः । कथं सदसि भोक्तारो हविस्तस्य सुरर्षयः ॥ ब्राह्मणा वा महात्मानो भुक्त्वा चण्डालभोजनम् । कथं स्वर्गं गमिष्यन्ति विश्वामित्रेण पालिताः ॥ एतद् वचननैष्ठुर्य्यमूचुः संरक्तलोचनाः । वाशिष्ठा मुनिशार्दूल सर्वे सहमहोदयाः ॥

[95] Rāmāyăna, Sect. 60, verses 11—14. नाभ्यगमन् यदा तत्र भागीयं सर्वदेवताः । ततः कोपसमाविष्टो विश्वामित्रो महामुनिः । सुवमुद्यम्य सक्रोधस्त्रिशंकुमिदमब्रवीत् ॥ पश्य मे तपसो वीर्य्यं स्वार्जितस्य नरेश्वर । एष त्वां स्वशरीरेण नयामि स्वर्गमोजसा । दुष्प्रापं स्वशरीरेण स्वर्गं गच्छ नरेश्वर ॥ स्वार्जितं किञ्चिदप्यस्ति मया हि तपसः फलम् ॥

in the sight of the mŭnis. Indra however ordered him to be gone, as a person who, having incurred the curse of his spiritual preceptors, was unfit for the abode of the celestials;—and to fall down headlong to earth.[96] He accordingly began to descend, invoking loudly, as he fell, the help of his patron. Viśwāmitra, greatly incensed, called out to him to stop. "Then "by the power of his divine knowledge and austerity, like another Brahmā, "he created other Seven Ṛishis (a constellation so called) in the southern "part of the sky. Having, in the midst of the ṛishis, proceeded to this "part of the heavens, he formed another garland of stars, being overcome "with fury. Exclaiming, 'I will create another Indra, or the world shall "have no Indra at all,' he began, in his rage, to call other gods into "being."[97] The ṛishis, gods (Suras), and Asuras now became seriously alarmed, and said to Viśwāmitra in a conciliatory tone, that Triśanku, as he had been cursed by his preceptors, should not be admitted bodily into heaven, until he had undergone some lustration.[98] The sage replied that he had given a promise to Triśanku, and appealed to the gods to permit his protegé to remain in heaven, and the newly created stars to retain their places in perpetuity. The gods agreed that these numerous stars should remain, but beyond the sun's path, and that Triśanku, like an immortal, should shine among them, and be followed by them, with his head downwards.[99] Thus was this great dispute adjusted.

This story of Triśanku, it will have been observed, differs materially from the one quoted above (pp. 86—88) from the Harivansa; but brings out more distinctly the character of the conflict between Vaśishṭha and Viśwāmitra.

When all the gods and ṛishis had departed at the conclusion of the

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[96] Rāmāyăna, Sect. 60, verse 17. त्रिशङ्को गच्छ भूयस्त्वं नासि स्वर्गकृतालयः। गुरुशापहतो मूढ पत भूमिमवाक्शिराः॥

[97] Rāmāyăna, Sect. 60, verses 20—22. ततो ब्रह्मतपोयोगात् प्रजापतिरिवापरः। ससर्ज दक्षिणे भागे सप्तर्षीनपरान् पुनः॥ दक्षिणां दिशमास्थाय ऋषिमध्ये महायशाः। नक्षत्रमालामपरामसृजत् क्रोधमूर्च्छितः॥ अन्यमिन्द्रं करिष्यामि लोको वा स्यादनिन्द्रकः। देवतान्यपि स क्रोधात् स्रष्टुं समुपचक्रमे॥

[98] Rāmāyăna, Sect. 60, verse 24. अयं राजा महाभाग गुरुशापपरिक्षतः। सशरीरो दिवं यातुं नार्हत्यकृतपावनः॥

[99] Rāmāyăna, Sect. 60, verses 29—31. एवं भवतु भद्रं ते तिष्ठन्त्वेतानि सर्वशः। गगने तान्यनेकानि वैश्वानरपथाद् बहिः। नक्षत्राणि मुनिश्रेष्ठ तेषु ज्योतिस्सु जाज्वलन्। अवाक्शिरास्त्रिशंकुश्च तिष्ठत्वमरसन्निभः। अनुयास्यन्ति चैतानि ज्योतींषि नृपसत्तमम्॥

sacrifice, Viśwāmitra said to his attendant devotees: "This has been a great "interruption [to our austerities] which has occurred in the southern "region: we must proceed in another direction to continue our penances."[1] He accordingly went to the forest of Pushkara in the west, and began his austerities anew. Here the narrative is again interrupted by the introduction of another history, that of king Ambărīsha, king of Ayodhyā, who was, according to the Rāmāyăna, the twenty-eighth in descent from Ikshwāku, and the twenty-second from Triśanku. (Compare the Ramayana genealogy, I. 70, with that in the Vishnu Purana, pp. 360—2, 369, 371—3, and 379; which is different.) Viśwāmitra is nevertheless represented as flourishing contemporaneously with both these two last princes. The story relates that Ambarīsha was engaged in performing a sacrifice, when Indra carried away the victim. The priest said that this ill omened event had occurred owing to the king's bad administration; and would call for a great expiation, unless a human victim could be produced.[2] After a long search the royal-ṛishi (Ambarīsha) came to the Brahman-rishi Ṛichīka, descendant of Bhrigu, and asked him to sell one of his sons for a victim, at the price of a hundred thousand cows. Richīka answered that he would not sell his eldest son; and his wife added that she would not sell the youngest: eldest sons, she observed, being generally the favourites of their fathers, and youngest sons of their mothers.[3] The second son Śunahśēpha then said that in that case he regarded himself as sold, and desired the king to remove him. The hundred thousand cows were paid down, and Śunahśepha carried away. As they were passing through Pushkara, Śunahśepha beheld his maternal uncle Viśwāmitra (see Rāmāyana, I. 35. 7, and p. 85 above); threw himself into his arms, and implored his assistance, urging his desertion by his parents, and his helpless state, as claims on the sage's benevolence.[4] Viśwāmitra soothed him; and pressed his own sons to offer themselves as victims in the room of Śunahśepha. This

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[1] Rāmāyăna, Sect. 61, verse 2. महान् विघ्नः प्रवृत्तोऽयं दक्षिणामास्थितो दिशम्। दिशमन्यां प्रपत्स्यामस्तत्र तप्स्यामहे तपः॥

[2] Rāmāyăna, Sect. 61, verse 8. प्रायश्चित्तं महद् ह्येतद् नरं वा पुरुषर्षभ। आनयस्व पशुं शीघ्रं यावत् कर्म प्रवर्त्तते॥

[3] Rāmāyăna, Sect. 61, verse 18. प्रायेण हि नरश्रेष्ठ ज्येष्ठाः पितृषु वल्लभाः। मातॄणाञ्च कनीयांसस्तस्माद्रक्षे कनीयसम्॥ According to the Harivansa, Sect. 27, verse 1457, Śunahśepha is named as the second brother of Jamadagni: मध्यमश्च शुनःशेफः॥

[4] Rāmāyăna, Sect. 62, verse 4. न मेऽस्ति माता न पिता ज्ञातयो बान्धवाः कुतः। त्रातुमर्हसि मां सौम्य धर्मेण मुनिपुङ्गव॥

proposition met with no favour from Madhushyanda and the other sons of the royal hermit, who answered in scorn and mockery: "How is it that "thou sacrificest thine own sons, and seekest to rescue the sons of others? "We look upon this as wrong, and like the eating of one's own flesh."[5] The sage was exceedingly wroth at this disregard of his injunction, and doomed his sons to be born in the most degraded classes, and to eat dog's flesh, like Vaśishṭha's sons, for five thousand years. He then said to S'unahśepha: "When thou art fastened with hallowed cords, decked with "a red garland and anointed with unguents, to the post of Vishṇu, then "address thyself to Agni; and sing these two divine verses (*gāthās*) at the "sacrifice of Ambarīsha; then shalt thou attain the fulfilment [of thy "desire]."[6] Being furnished with the two gāthās, S'unahśēpha accompanied king Ambarīsha with alacrity to his destination. When bound at the stake to be immolated, dressed in a red garment, he celebrated the two gods, Indra and his younger brother (Vishṇu), with the verses addressed to Agni. The Thousand-eyed (Indra) was pleased with the secret hymn, and bestowed long life on S'unahsepha.[7] King Ambarīsha also received great benefits from this sacrifice. Viśwāmitra meanwhile proceeded with his austerities, which he prolonged for a thousand years.

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[5] Rāmāyăna, Sect. 62, verse 14. कथमात्मसुतान् हित्वा त्वायसेऽन्यसुतान् विभो । अकार्य्यमिव पश्यामः स्वमांसमिव भोजने ॥ This son of Viśwāmitra, it will be noticed, is called here *Madhushyanda* (मधुष्यन्दः) instead of the *Madhuchhăndas* (मधुच्छन्दस्) of the Rig Veda.

[6] Rāmāyăna, Sect. 62, verses 19 and 20. पवित्रपाशैराबद्धो रक्तमाल्यानुलेपनः । वैष्णवं यूपमासाद्य वाग्भिरग्निमुदाहर ॥ इमे च गाथे द्वे दिव्ये गायेथा मुनिपुत्रक । अम्बरीषस्य यज्ञेऽस्मिंस्ततः सिद्धिमवाप्स्यसि ॥

[7] Rāmāyăna, Sect. 62, verse 25. स बद्धो वाग्भिरग्न्याभिरभितुष्टाव वै सुरौ । इन्द्रमिन्द्रानुजञ्चैव यथावद् मुनिपुत्रकः ॥ तस्मै प्रीतः सहस्राक्षो रहस्यस्तुतितोषितः । दीर्घमायुस्तदा प्रादाच्छुनःशेफाय वासवः ॥ In the Aitarēya Brahmana a different version of the story of S'unahśepha is given; his parentage not being the same, and the king who sought to sacrifice him being a different person. (See Roth in Weber's Indische Studien I. 457—464, and II. 111—123; and Wilson in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, Vol. XIII. part I. pp. 96—107. See also Wilson's note in p. 59 of the first volume of his translation of the Rig Veda.) It is there (VII. 13—18) related that king Hariśchandra obtained from Varuṇa a son, named Rohita, on condition of his offering him up in sacrifice to the god. The king, however, delayed the fulfilment of his promise, on various grounds, till Rohita grew up. The

At the end of this time the gods came to allot his reward; and Brahmā announced that he had attained the rank of a ṛishi, thus advancing an additional step. Dissatisfied with this, the sage commenced his task of penance anew. After a length of time he beheld the nymph (Apsăras) Menăkā, who had come to bathe in the lake of Pushkara. She flashed on

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latter then refused to be sacrificed; but at length purchased Sunahśepa from his father Ajīgartta, and brought him, as a substitute, to his father. Preparations were made to offer up Sunahśepa; and Viśwāmitra officiated as *hotṛi*, Jamadagni as *adhwaryu*, Vasishṭha as *brăhmăn*, and Ayāsya as *udgātṛi*. Sunahśepa was about to be sacrificed, when he supplicated different gods with verses from the 24th and following hymns of the first Book of the Rig Veda; and was eventually liberated. He then forsook his father, and became the son of Viśwāmitra, under the appellation of Devarāta (the "god-given"); having been originally, as Ajīgartta's son, an Āngirăsa. Viśwāmitra is called in this passage a Bhārata, and his sons are addressed as Kuśikas. Fifty of the hundred sons were not satisfied to receive Sunahśepa as a brother, on a footing of precedence, and were condemned by their father in the following words (which I have already quoted, p. 84) to be the progenitors of barbarous tribes: "'Your descendants shall be degraded.' "They are the Andhras, Puṇdras, Sabaras, Pulindas, Mutivas,—numerous "frontier tribes, most of the Dasyus being descendants of Viśwāmitra." The other fifty sons conceded precedence to Sunahśepa, and received their father's promise that they should succeed to his property, and to his sacred knowledge. Devarāta (Sunahśepa) was regarded as the inheritor both of the kingly rank of the race of Jahnu, and of the divine wisdom of Gāthin's family. (See Prof. Roth's remarks on this legend in the Ind. Studien, II. 111—123. The Bhāgavatá Purana, Book IX. Sect. 7, and Sect. 16, verses 30—37, follows the Aitarēya Brahmana in its version of this legend. Manu also refers to the story of Sunahśēpha as follows, X. 105. अजीगर्तः सुतं हन्तुमुपासर्पद् बुभुक्षितः। न चालिप्यत पापेन क्षुत्प्रतीकारमाचरन्॥ "Ajīgartta, "when famished, prepared to slay his son; and [in doing so] was not con- "taminated by sin, as he was seeking the means of escape from hunger." On this verse Kullūka annotates: ऋषिरजीगर्ताख्यो बुभुक्षितः सन् पुत्रं शुनःशेफनामानं स्वयं विक्रीतवान् यज्ञे गोशतलाभाय यज्ञयूपे बद्ध्वा विशसिता भूत्वा हन्तुं प्रचक्रमे न च क्षुत्प्रतीकारार्थं तथा कुर्वन् पापेन लिप्तः। एतच्च बह्वृचब्राह्मणे शुनःशेफाख्यानेषु व्यक्तमुक्तम्॥ "The ṛishi Ajīgartta, being famished, sold his "son Sunahśēpha; and in order to obtain a hundred cows at the sacrifice, "bound him to the stake, and was about to slaughter him as a victim. In

his view, unequalled in her radiant beauty, like lightning in a cloud.[8] For ten years he remained a slave to her witchery, to the great prejudice of his austerities. At length he became ashamed of this ignoble subjection, and full of indignation at what he believed to be a device of the gods to disturb his penance; and dismissing the nymph with gentle accents, he departed for the northern mountains; where he practised severe austerities for a thousand years on the banks of the Kauśikī river. The gods became alarmed at the progress he was making, and decided that he should be dignified with the appellation of *great ṛishi* (*Măhărshi*); and Brahmā giving effect to the general opinion of the deities, announced that he had conferred that rank upon him. Viśwāmitra was neither dejected nor elated by the acquisition of this third grade; but replied that he should consider himself to have indeed completely subdued his senses, if the incomparable title of Brahman-rishi were conferred upon him.[9] Brahmā informed him in answer, that he had not yet acquired the power of perfectly controlling his senses; but should make further efforts with that view. The sage then began to put himself through a yet more rigorous course of penances, standing in one spot, on one foot, motionless as a pillar, with his arms erect, feeding on air, in summer exposed to five fires, (i. e. one on each of four sides, and the sun overhead,) in the rainy season remaining unsheltered from the wet, and in winter lying on a watery couch. This he continued for a thousand years. At last Indra became alarmed at the merit he was storing up, and the power which he was thereby acquiring; and sent the nymph Rāmbhā to bewitch him by her blandishments. He was however aware of this design, and becoming greatly incensed, he cursed the nymph. In this way, though he resisted the allurements of sensual love, he lost the whole fruit of his austerities by

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" doing so, as a means of escape from the pangs of hunger, the ṛishi did not " incur sin. This is all distinctly recorded in the Bahvrich (Aitarēya) Brāh- " maṇa, in the story of Śunahśēpha." Weber adduces in his Indische Studien (III. p. 478) a short passage from the Kāṭhaka Brāhmaṇa, 19. 11, in which Śunahśēpa, the son of Ajīgartta, is mentioned " as having been " seized by Varuṇa, and as having then received by inspiration a text, " whereby he was delivered from the bonds of the god:" शुनःशेपो वा एतामाजीगर्त्तिर्वरुणगृहीतोऽपश्यत् तया वै स वरुणपाशादमुच्यत ॥

[8] Rāmāyăna, Book I. Sect. 63, verse 5. रूपेणाप्रतिमां तत्र विद्युतं जलदे यथा ॥

[9] Rāmāyăna, Book I. Sect. 63, verse 21. ब्रह्मर्षिशब्दमतुलं स्वार्जितैः कर्मभिः शुभैः । यदि मे भगवानाह ततोऽहं विजितेन्द्रियः ॥

yielding to anger; and had to begin his work over again. He then left the Himālăya, and travelled to the east, where he performed a dreadful penance, unequalled in the whole history of austerities, maintaining silence for a thousand years. Though the sage was reduced to the state of a log, and was thwarted by many obstacles, he remained unmoved by anger. On the expiration of his course of austerity, he prepared some food to eat; which Indra, coming in the form of a Brahman, begged that he would give him. Viśwāmitra did so, and though he had none left for himself, and was obliged to remain fasting, he said nothing to the Brahman, on account of his vow of silence. As he continued speechless, and with suspended breath, smoke issued from his head, to the great consternation of the three worlds. The gods, ṛishis &c. then addressed Brahmā: "'The great muni Viś-"wāmitra, has been allured and provoked in various ways, but still advances "in his sanctity. If his wish is not conceded, he will destroy the three worlds "by the force of his austerity. All the regions of the universe are con-"founded, no light anywhere shines; all the oceans are tossed, and the "mountains crumble, the earth quakes, and the wind blows fitfully. We "cannot, o Brahmā, guarantee that mankind shall not become atheistic. "..... Before the great sage of fiery form proceeds to the work of de-"struction, let him be propitiated.'" ..... The gods, headed by Brahmā, then addressed Viśwāmitra: "'Hail, Brahman-rishi, we are gratified by thy "austerities; o Kauśika, thou hast, through their intensity, attained to "Brahmanhood. I, o Brahman, associated with the Maruts, confer on "thee long life. May every blessing attend thee; depart wherever thou "wilt.' The sage, delighted, made his obeisance to the gods, and said: "'If I have obtained Brahmanhood, and long life, then let the mystic "monosyllable (*ōmkāra*) and the sacrificial formula (*văshătkāra*) and the "Vedas recognise me in that capacity. And let Vaśishṭha, the son of "Brahmā, the most eminent of those who are skilled in the *kshatra vēda*, "and the *brahma vēda*, (the knowledge of the kshatriya and the brahmani-"cal disciplines,) address me similarly.' Accordingly Vaśishṭha, being pro-"pitiated by the gods, became reconciled to Viśwāmitra, and recognised "his claim to all the prerogatives of a Brahman-ṛishi..... Viśwāmitra, "too, having attained the brahmanical rank, paid all honour to Vaśish-"ṭha." [10] Such was the grand result achieved by Viśwāmitra, at the cost

[10] Rāmāyăna, Book I. Sect. 65, verses 8 et seqq. तस्यानुच्छ्वसमानस्य मूर्ध्नि धूमो व्यजायत । त्रैलोक्यं येन सम्भ्रान्तमादीपितमिवाभवत् ॥ ..... बहुभिः कारणैर्देव विश्वामित्रो महामुनिः । लोभितः क्रोधितश्चैव तपसा चाभिवर्द्धते ॥ न दीयते यदि त्वस्य मनसा यदभीप्सितम् ॥ विनाशयति त्रैलोक्यं तपसा सचरा-

of many thousand years of intense mortification of the body, and discipline of the soul. During the course of the struggle, he had manifested, as the story tells us, a power little, if at all, inferior to that of Indra, the king of the gods; and as, in a former legend, we have seen king Năhŭsha actually occupying the throne of that deity, we cannot doubt,—judging by the recognised principles of Indian mythology,—that Viśwāmitra had only to recommence his career of self-mortification in order to raise himself yet higher than he had yet risen, to the rank of a devarshi [11] or divine rishi, or

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चरम् ॥ व्याकुलाश्च दिशः सर्वा न च किञ्चित् प्रकाशते । सागराः क्षुभिताः सर्वे विशीर्य्यन्ते च पर्वताः ॥ प्रकम्पते च पृथिवी वायुर्वातीह संकुलः । ब्रह्मन् न प्रतिजानीमो नास्तिको जायते जनः ॥ ..... वृद्धिं न कुरुते यावन्नाशे देव महामुनिः । तावत् प्रसाद्यो भगवान् अग्निरूपो महाद्युतिः ॥ ..... ब्रह्मर्षे स्वागतं तेऽस्तु तपसा स्म सुतोषिताः । ब्राह्मण्यं तपसोग्रेण प्राप्नवानसि कौशिक ॥ दीर्घमायुश्च ते ब्रह्मन् ददामि समरुद्गणः । स्वस्ति प्राप्नुहि भद्रं ते गच्छ सौम्य यथासुखम् ॥ ..... ब्राह्मण्यं यदि मे प्राप्तं दीर्घमायुस्तथैव च । ओंकारोऽथ वषट्कारो वेदाश्च वरयन्तु माम् ॥ क्षत्रवेदविदां श्रेष्ठो ब्रह्मवेदविदामपि । ब्रह्मपुत्रो वशिष्ठो मामेवं वदतु देवताः ॥ ततः प्रसादितो देवैर्वशिष्ठो जपतां वरः । सख्यं चकार ब्रह्मर्षिरेवमस्त्विति चाब्रवीत् ॥ ब्रह्मर्षित्वं न सन्देहः सर्वं सम्पद्यते तव । ..... विश्वामित्रोऽपि धर्मात्मा लब्ध्वा ब्राह्मण्यमुत्तमम् । पूजयामास ब्रह्मर्षिं वशिष्ठं जपतां वरम् ॥

[11] The Vishṇu Purana, III. 6. 21, mentions only three kinds of ṛishis: ज्ञेया ब्रह्मर्षयः पूर्वं तेभ्यो देवर्षयः पुनः । राजर्षयः पुनस्तेभ्य ऋषिप्रकृतयस्त्रयः ॥ "There are three kinds of ṛishis; Brăhmărshis, after them Dēvarshis, and "after them Rājarshis." Böhtlingk and Roth, sub voce *ṛishi*, mention also (on the authority of the vocabulary called Trikāṇḍaśesha) the words *măharshi* (great ṛishi), *părămarshi* (most eminent ṛishi), *śrutarshi* (Vedic ṛishi), and *kāṇḍarshi*, who is explained sub voce to be a teacher of a particular portion (*kāṇḍa*) of the Veda. *Devarshis* are explained by Professor Wilson, (p. 284, paraphrasing the text of the Vishnu Purana,) to be "sages "who are demi-gods also;" *Brăhmărshis* to be "sages who are sons of "Brahmā or Brahmans;" and *Rājarshis* to be "princes who have adopted "a life of devotion." In a note he adds; "A similar enumeration is given "in the Vayu, with some additions. Ṛishi is derived from ṛish, 'to go to' "or 'approach.' The Brahmarshis, it is said, are descendants of the five "patriarchs, who were the founders of races or gotras of Brahmans, or "Kaśyapa, Vaśishṭha, Angiras, Atri, and Bhṛigu. The Devarshis are Nara "and Nārāyaṇa, the sons of Dharma; the Bālakhilyas, who sprung from

to any other elevation he might desire. But he was content with his success. He stood on a footing of perfect equality with his rival Vaśishṭha, and became indifferent to further honours. In fact, it was not necessary for the purpose of the inventors of the legend to carry him any higher. They only wished to account for his exercising the prerogatives of a Brahman; and this was now accomplished to their satisfaction.

### SECT. XIII.—*Other accounts, from the Mahābhārata, of the way in which Viśwāmitra became a Brahman.*

In the Udyoga Parva of the Mahābhārata, Sections 105—118, a story is told regarding Viśwāmitra and his pupil Gālava, in which a different account is given of the manner in which Viśwāmitra attained the rank of a Brahman; viz. by the gift of Dharma appearing in the form of his rival. "Virtue," we are told, "assuming the personality of the sage Vaśishṭha, "once came to visit Viśwāmitra, when he was living a life of austerity;" and after consuming some food which he had been cooking, desired him to remain till he, the visitor, should return. Viśwāmitra accordingly stood still, with some boiled rice on his head. "The same personage (Virtue), "in the same disguise, reappeared after a hundred years, and consumed "the rice, (still quite hot and fresh,) which had been standing upon the "hermit's head, while he himself had remained motionless, feeding on air. "Virtue then said to him, 'I am pleased with thee, o Brahman-rishi;' "and went away. Viśwāmitra, having become thus transformed from a "Kshatriya into a Brahman, was delighted with the words of Virtue." [12]

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"Kratu; Kardama, the son of Pulaha; Kuvēra, the son of Pulastya; "Achala, the son of Pratyūsha; Nārada and Parvata, the sons of Kaśyapa. "Rājarshis are Ikshwāku and other princes. The Brahmarshis dwell in "the sphere of Brahmā; the Devarshis in the region of the gods; and the "Rājarshis in the heaven of Indra." Brahmarshis are evidently ṛishis who were priests; and Rājarshis, ṛishis of kingly extraction. If so, a Devarshi, having a divine character, should be something higher than either; though the authorities in this note do not seem to reckon this so high a grade as Brahmarshi.

[12] Mahābhārata, Udyoga Parva, verses 3721 and 3728—3731. विश्वामित्रं तपस्यन्तं धर्मो जिज्ञासया पुरा । अभ्यागच्छत् स्वयं भूत्वा वशिष्ठो भगवानृषिः । ..... अथ वर्षशते पूर्णे धर्मो पुनरुपागमत् । वाशिष्ठं वेशमास्थाय कौशिकं भोजनेप्सया । स दृष्ट्वा शिरसा भक्तं म्रियमाणं महर्षिणा । तिष्ठता वायुभक्षेण विश्वामित्रेण धीमता । प्रतिगृह्य ततो धर्मस्तथैवोष्णं तथा नवम् । भुक्त्वा प्रीतोऽस्मि

In the Anusāśana Parva of the Mahābhārata we have yet another reference to the story of Viśwāmitra. King Yudhisthira enquires of Bhīshma, how it happened, if Brahmanhood is so difficult to attain by men of the other three castes, that the great Kshatriya acquired that dignity. The prince then recapitulates the chief exploits of Viśwāmitra, "how he had destroyed "Vaśishṭha's hundred sons by the power of devotion; had created many "fierce and deadly demons; had established the great and wise family of "the Kuśikas, *which included Brahmans and hundreds of Brahman-rishis;* "had delivered Śunahśepha, son of Richīka, when on the point of being "slaughtered as a victim; had assumed Hariśchandra as his son, after he "had by sacrifice, and through his own power, propitiated the gods; had "cursed his fifty sons who would not do homage to Devarāta, so that they "became outcastes; had elevated Triśanku to heaven, when forsaken [?] "by his relations, and fixed him with his head downwards in the southern "heavens; had changed the troublesome nymph Rambhā by his curse into "a mountain known as Panchachūḍā; had driven Vaśishṭha through "fear to bind and throw himself into the river, though he emerged "thence unbound;"[13] and had performed other deeds calculated to excite astonishment;—and enquires "how he became a Brahman without trans-"migrating into another body."[14] In answer to this question, Bhīshma deduces the descent of Viśwāmitra from Ajamīḍha, of the race of Bharata,

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विप्रर्षे तमुक्ता स मुनिर्गतः। क्षत्रभावादपगतो ब्राह्मणत्वमुपागतः। धर्मस्य वचनात् प्रीतो विश्वामित्रस्तथाऽभवत्॥

[13] Mahābhārata, Anuśāsana Parva, Sect. 3, verses 183 et seqq. तेन ऋषिनवतीर्येण वशिष्टस्य महात्मनः। हतं पुत्रशतं सद्यस्तपसाऽपि पितामह। यातुधानाश्च बहवो राक्षसास्तिग्मतेजसः। मन्युनाविष्टदेहेन सृष्टाः कालान्तकोपमाः। महान् कुशिकवंशश्च ब्रह्मर्षिशतसंकुलः। स्थापितो नरलोकेऽस्मिन् विद्वान् ब्राह्मणसंयुतः। ऋचीकस्यात्मजश्चैव शुनःशेफो महातपाः। विमोक्षितो महासत्रात् पशुतामप्युपागतः। हरिश्चन्द्रः क्रतौ देवांस्तोषयित्वात्मतेजसा। पुत्रतामनुसम्प्राप्तो विश्वामित्रस्य धीमतः। नाभिवादयते (?) ज्येष्ठं देवरातं नराधिप। पुत्राः पञ्चाशदेवापि शप्ताः श्वपचतां गताः। त्रिशंकुर्बन्धुभिर्मुक्त ऐक्ष्वाकुः प्रीतिपूर्वकम्। अवाक्शिरा दिवं नीतो दक्षिणामाश्रितो दिशम्। ..... ततो विघ्नकरी चैव पञ्चचूडा सुसम्मता। रम्भा नामाप्सराः शापाद् यस्य शैलत्वमागता। तथैवास्य भयाद् वद्ध्वा वशिष्टः सलिले पुरा। आत्मानं मज्जयन् श्रीमान् विपाशः पुनरुत्थितः॥

[14] Mahābhārata, Anuśāsana Parva, Sect. 3, verse 197. देहान्तरमनासाद्य कथं स ब्राह्मणोऽभवत्॥

whom he declares to have been the father of Jahnu, who again was the progenitor of Kuśika; and narrates the same legend of the birth of Viśwāmitra which has been already summarised in Sect. VII. (see above, p. 85.) The conclusion of this story is, that the wife of Ṛichīka bore Jamadagni, while "the wife of Gādhi, by the grace of the ṛishi, gave birth to Viśwā-"mitra, who was a Brahman-rishi, and an utterer [or expounder?] of the "Veda; who, though a Kshatriya, attained to Brahmanhood, *and was the* "*founder of a Brahman race*," [15] of which the members are detailed, including the great rishi Kapila. In regard to the mode in which Viśwāmitra was transformed from a Kshatriya into a Brahman, we are only told that he was a Kshatriya, and that "Ṛichīka infused into him this exalted Brah-"manhood." [16]

This version of the story is different from all those preceding ones which enter into any detail, as it makes no mention of Viśwāmitra having extorted the Brahmanical rank from the gods by the force of his austerities; and ascribes his transformation [while he was yet unborn?] to a virtue communicated by the sage Ṛichīka.

### Sect. XIV.—*Manu's account of the way in which Viśwāmitra became a Brahman.*

Manu (in one of the verses already quoted, pp. 58, 59, from the seventh Book) thus alludes to the history of Viśwāmitra: "Pṛithu obtained sove-"reignty by submissiveness, as did also Manu. In the same way Kuvēra "attained the lordship of wealth, and the son of Gādhi the state of Brah-"manhood." [17] On this the commentator Kullūka Bhaṭṭa annotates: "Viśwāmitra, son of Gādhi, being a Kshatriya, attained Brahmanhood in "the same body. The attainment of Brahmanhood, during the time when "a man is a king (or a Rājanya), though an unprecedented occurrence, is "adduced to prove the excellence of submissiveness. This person was of "such a character, that by self-control, exemplified in practising enjoined

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[15] Mahābhārata, Anuśāsana Parva, Sect. 3, verses 246, 247. विश्वामित्रञ्चाजनयद् गाधिभार्य्या यशस्विनी । ऋषेः प्रसादाद् राजेन्द्र ब्रह्मर्षिं (quere ब्रह्मर्षिम्) ब्रह्मवादिनम् । ततो ब्राह्मणतां यातो विश्वामित्रो महातपाः । क्षत्रियः सोऽप्यथ तथा ब्रह्मवंशस्य कारकः ॥

[16] Mahābhārata, Anuśāsana Parva, Sect. 3, verses 259, 260. तथैव क्षत्रियो राजन् विश्वामित्रो महातपाः । ऋचीकेनाहितं ब्रह्म परमेतद् युधिष्ठिर ॥

[17] Manu VII. 42. पृथुस्तु विनयाद्राज्यं प्राप्तवान् मनुरेव च । कुबेरश्च धनैश्वर्यं ब्राह्मण्यञ्चैव गाधिजः ॥

" duties, and avoiding things forbidden, he, though a Kshatriya, acquired " Brahmanhood, which is so difficult to gain." [18]

Nothing is said here of Viśwāmitra's conflict with Vaśishṭha, and of his arduous penances, endured with the view of conquering for himself an equality with his rival. On the contrary, it is to his submissiveness, i. e. to his dutiful recognition of the superiority of the Brahmans, that his elevation to their order is assigned. Kullūka, indeed, explains the word submissiveness (*vinăya*) to mean virtue in general; but the contrast which is drawn between Pṛithu, Manu, and Viśwāmitra, on the one hand, and Veṇa, Nahusha, Sudās, Sumukha, and Nimi, the resisters of Brahmanical prerogatives, (as all the legends declare them to have been,) on the other, makes it pretty evident that the merit which Manu means to ascribe to Viśwāmitra is that of dutiful submission to the spiritual authority of the Brahmans.

## SECT. XV.—*Legend of Saudāsa.*

In the reign of Mitrasaha, also called Saudāsa, and Kalmāshapāda, the son of Sudāsa, and the descendant of Sagara (see above, p. 94) in the thirteenth, and of Triśanku in the twenty-second, (see pp. 86 and 100 above,) generation, we still find Vaśishṭha figuring in the legend, as the priest of that monarch, and as causing him, by an imprecation, to become a cannibal, because he had, under the influence of an illusion, offered the priest human flesh to eat. I shall not extract the version of the story given in the Vishnu Purana, in detail, as it does not in any way illustrate the rivalry of Vaśishṭha and Viśwāmitra. (Wilson, Vish. Pur. pp. 381, 382.)

The Mahābhārata gives the following variation of the history (Adi Parva, Sect. 176). Kalmāshapāda was a king of the race of Ikshwāku. Viśwāmitra wished to be employed by him as his officiating priest; but the king preferred Vaśishṭha. [19] It happened, however, that the king had gone out to hunt; and meeting Śaktri, the eldest of Vaśishṭha's hundred sons, on the road, he ordered him to get out of his way. The priest civilly replied: " The path is mine, o king; this is the immemorial law; in all observances

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[18] Kullūka on Manu VII. 42. गाधिपुत्रो विश्वामित्रश्च क्षत्रियः संस्तेनैव देहेन ब्राह्मण्यं प्राप्तवान् । राज्यलाभावसरे ब्राह्मण्यप्राप्तिरप्रस्तुताऽपि विनयोत्कर्षार्थमुक्ता । ईदृशोऽयं शास्त्रानुष्ठाननिषिद्धवर्जनरूपविनयोदयेन क्षत्रियोऽपि दुर्लभं ब्राह्मण्यं लेभे ॥

[19] Mahābhārata, Adi Parva, Sect. 176, verse 6699. अकामयत्तं याज्यार्थे विश्वामित्रः प्रतापवान् । स तु राजा महात्मानं वशिष्ठमृषिसत्तमम् ॥

"the king must cede the way to the Brahman."[20] Neither party would yield, and the dispute waxing warmer, the king struck the muni with his whip. The muni, resorting to the usual expedient of offended sages, cursed the king to become a man-eater. "It happened that at that time "enmity existed between Viśwāmitra and Vaśishṭha on account of their "respective claims to be priest to Kalmāshapāda."[21] Viśwāmitra had followed the king; and approached while he was disputing with S'aktri. Perceiving, however, the son of his rival Vaśishṭha, Viśwāmitra made himself invisible, and passed them, watching his opportunity. The king was about to implore S'aktri's clemency; but Viśwāmitra wishing to prevent this reconciliation, commanded a Rākshasa (a man-devouring demon) to enter into the king. Owing to the conjoint influence of the Brahman-ṛishi's curse, and Viśwāmitra's command, a demon entered into the king. Perceiving that his object was gained, Viśwāmitra left things to take their course, and absented himself from the country. The king having happened to meet a poor Brahman, and sent him some human flesh to eat, was cursed by him also to the same effect as by S'aktri. The curse now took effect, and S'aktri himself was the first victim, being eaten up by the king. The same fate befell all the other sons of Vaśishṭha at the instigation of Viśwāmitra.[22]

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[20] Mahābhārata, Adi Parva, Sect. 176, verse 6703. मम पन्था महाराज धर्म एष सनातनः । राज्ञा सर्वेषु धर्मेषु देयः पन्था द्विजातये ॥

[21] Mahābhārata, Adi Parva, Sect. 176, verse 6710. ततो याज्यनिमित्तन्तु विश्वामित्रवशिष्ठयोः । वैरमासीत्तदा तन्तु विश्वामित्रोऽन्वपद्यत ॥

[22] Mahābhārata, Adi Parva, Sect. 176, verses 6736, 6737. शक्तिं तन्तु मृतं दृष्ट्वा विश्वामित्रः पुनः पुनः । वशिष्ठस्यैव पुत्रेषु तद्रक्षः सन्दिदेश ह ॥ स तान् शक्त्यवरान् पुत्रान् वशिष्ठस्य महात्मनः । भक्षयामास संक्रुद्धः सिंहः क्षुद्रमृगानिव ॥ There is an allusion to the death of Vaśishṭha's sons, in connexion with the family of Sudās, in the Kaushītākī Brahmana, 4th Adhyāya, quoted by Weber, Ind. Stud. II. 299: वसिष्ठोऽकामयत हतपुत्रः प्रजायेय प्रजया पशुभिरभि सौदासान् भवेयमिति स एतं यज्ञक्रतुमपश्यद् वशिष्ठयज्ञम् . . . तेनेष्ट्वा . . . अभि सौदासानभवत् । "Vasishṭha, when his sons were killed, "desired that he might beget children, and become superior to the family "of Sudās in cattle . . . . He beheld [by inspiration] this form of sacrifice, "the Vasishṭha-sacrifice; and having performed it, he became superior to "the family of Sudās." In a passage from the Panchavinśa Brahmana of the Sāma Veda, referred to in the Indische Studien I. 32, Vasishṭha is spoken of as पुत्रहतः । And the following story, adduced by Prof. Roth (Zur

"Vaśishṭha on hearing of the destruction of his sons by Viśwāmitra, sup-
"ported his affliction, as the great mountain sustains the earth. He me-
"ditated his own destruction, and never thought of exterminating the
"Kauśikas. This divine sage hurled himself from the summit of Mēru;
"but fell upon the rocks as if on a heap of cotton. Escaping alive from
"his fall, he entered a glowing fire in the forest; but the fire, though
"fiercely blazing, not only failed to burn him, but seemed perfectly cool.
"He next threw himself into the sea with a heavy stone attached to his
"neck; but was cast up by the waves on the dry land. He then went
"home to his hermitage; but seeing it empty and desolate, he was again
"overcome by grief, and binding himself with bonds he threw himself into the
"river Vipāśā, which was swollen by the rains, and was sweeping along many

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Litt. und Gesch. des Weda, pp. 123, 124) from the Anukramaṇī on the Rig Veda, VII. 32, refers to some oppression practised on Śaktri by Sudās's family. सौदासैरग्नौ प्रक्षिप्यमाणः शक्तिरन्त्यं प्रगाथमालेभे सोऽर्द्धर्चे उक्तेऽदह्यत तं पुत्रोक्तं वसिष्ठः समापयतेति शाट्यायनकं वसिष्ठस्यैवार्षमिति ताण्डकम्। "Śakti
"(son of Vasishṭha), when he was being thrown into the fire by the Sau-
"dāsas (descendants of Sudās), received [by inspiration] the last *pragātha*
"of this hymn. According to the Śādyāyana Brahmana, he was burnt
"when the half of the *ṛich* had been uttered, and Vasishṭha finished what
"his son had begun. According to the Tāṇḍaka the whole pragātha has
"Vasishṭha for its *ṛishi*." Manu records (VIII. 110) that Vasishṭha took an oath before the son (or descendant of Piyavana): महर्षिभिश्च देवैश्च कार्य्यार्थं शपथाः कृताः। वशिष्ठश्चापि शपथं शेपे पैयवने नृपे॥ "Great ṛishis and gods
"too have taken oaths on occasions of necessity. Vaśishṭha also took an
"oath before king Paiyavana." On this the commentator Kullūka Bhaṭṭa annotates thus: वशिष्ठोऽप्यनेन पुत्रशतं भक्षितमिति विश्वामित्रेणाक्रुष्टः स्वपरिशुद्धये पियवनापत्ये सुदाम्नि राजनि शपथं चकार॥ "Vasishṭha, being accused
"by Viśwāmitra of having eaten [his] hundred sons, took an oath to clear
"himself before king Sudāmăn, the offspring of Piyavana." The name of Sudāmăn, given by the commentator, is not in Manu's text, and Sudās is no doubt meant. But *whose* sons was Vaśishṭha charged with devouring? None of the legends accuse him of eating up his own sons. In the Ramayana, I. 55. 5—6, (referred to above, p. 99,) Viśwāmitra's hundred sons are said to have been burnt up by the blast of Vaśishṭha's mouth: विश्वामित्रसुतानान्तु शतं नानाविधायुधम्। अभ्यधावत् सुसंक्रुद्धं वशिष्ठं जपतां वरम्। हुङ्कारेणैव तान् सर्वान् निर्दहाह महानृषिः॥

"trees torn from its banks; but the river severing his bonds, deposited him "unbound (*vipāśa*); whence the name of the stream, as imposed by the sage. "..... He afterwards threw himself into the Śatadru (Sutlej), which derived "its name from rushing away in a hundred directions on seeing the Brahman "brilliant as fire." [23] In consequence of this he was once more stranded. After roaming about over many countries and forests, he again returned to his hermitage; and finding that his daughter-in-law Adriśyantī (Śaktri's widow) was pregnant (with a child, who, when born, received the name of Parāśara), and that there was thus a hope of his lineage being continued, he abstained from further attempts on his own life. King Kalmāshapāda, whom they beheld in the forest, was about to devour them both, when Vaśishṭha stopped him by a blast from his mouth; and

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[23] Mahābhārata, Adi Parva, Sect. 176, verses 6738 et seqq. वशिष्ठो घातितान् श्रुत्वा विश्वामित्रेण तान् सुतान् । धारयामास तं शोकं महाद्रिरिव मेदिनीम् । चक्रे चात्मविनाशाय बुद्धिं स मुनिसत्तमः । न त्वेव कौशिकोच्छेदं मेने मतिमतां वरः । स मेरुकूटाद् आत्मानं मुमोच भगवानृषिः । गिरेस्तस्य शिलायान्तु तूलराशाविवापतत् । न ममार च पातेन स यदा तेन पाण्डव । तदाऽग्निमिद्धं भगवान् संविवेश महावने । तं तदा सुसमिद्धोऽपि न ददाह हुताशनः । दीप्यमानोऽप्यमित्रघ्न शीतोऽग्निरभवत् ततः । स समुद्रमभिप्रेक्ष्य शोकाविष्टो महामुनिः । बद्ध्वा कण्ठे शिलां गुर्वीं निपपात तदाऽम्भसि । स समुद्रोर्मिवेगेन स्थले न्यस्तो महामुनिः । जगाम स ततः खिन्नः पुनरेवाश्रमं प्रति । ततो दृष्ट्वाऽऽश्रमपदं रहितं तैः सुतैर्मुनिः । निर्जगाम सुदुःखार्त्तः पुनरप्याश्रमात् ततः । सोऽपश्यत् सरितं पूर्णां प्रावृट्काले नवाम्भसा । वृक्षान् बहुविधान् पार्थ हरन्तीं तीरजान् बहून् । अथ चिन्तां समापेदे पुनः कौरवनन्दन । अम्भस्यस्यां [?] निमज्जेयमिति दुःखसमन्वितः । ततः पाशैस्तदात्मानं गाढं बद्ध्वा महामुनिः । तस्या जले महानद्या निममज्ज सुदुःखितः । अथ च्छित्त्वा नदी पाशांस्तस्यारिबलसूदन । स्थलस्थं तमृषिं कृत्वा विपाशं समवासृजत् । उत्ततार ततः पाशैर्विमुक्तः स महानृषिः । विपाशेति च नामास्या नद्याश्चक्रे महानृषिः । ..... दृष्ट्वा स पुनरेवर्षिर्नदीं हैमवतीं तदा । चन्द्रग्राहवतीं भीमां तस्याः स्रोतस्यपातयत् । सा तमग्निसमं विप्रमनुचिन्य सरिद्वरा । शतधा विद्रुता यस्माच्छतद्रुरिति श्रुता ॥ The Nirukta, after giving other etymologies of the word Vipāś, adds: पाशा अस्यां व्यपाश्यन्त वसिष्ठस्य मुमूर्षतस्तस्माद् विपाड् उच्यते । पूर्वमासीद् उरुञ्जिरा । "In it the "bonds of Vasishṭha were loosed, when he was on the point of death: "hence it is called Vipāś. It formerly bore the name of Uruñjirā." The story, in some of its elements, thus appears to be older than the Mahābhārata.

sprinkling him with water consecrated by a holy text, he delivered him from the curse by which he had been affected for twelve years. The king then addressed Vaśishṭha thus: "'Most excellent sage, I am Saudāsa, "whose priest thou art: what can I do that would be pleasing to thee?' "Vaśishṭha answered; 'This which has happened has been owing to the "force of destiny: go, and rule thy kingdom; but, o monarch, never "contemn the Brahmans.' The king replied: 'Never shall I despise the "most excellent Brahmans; but submitting to thy commands, I shall pay "them all honour.'"[24]

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[24] Mahābhārata, Adi Parva, Sect. 176, verses 6774—6776. सौदासोऽहं महाभाग याज्यस्ते मुनिसत्तम । ऋषिन् काले यदिष्टं ते ब्रूहि किं करवाणि ते । वशिष्ठ उवाच । वृत्तमेतद् यथाकालं गच्छ राज्यं प्रशाधि वै । ब्राह्मणांस्तु मनुष्येन्द्र माऽवमंस्थाः कदाचन । राजोवाच । नावमंस्ये महाभाग कदाचिद् ब्राह्मणर्षभान् । त्वन्निदेशे स्थितः सम्यक् पूजयिष्याम्यहं द्विजान् ॥ We have another reference to the connexion of the families of Sudās and Vaśishṭha in the legend of Paraśurāma, the destroyer of the Kshatriyas, in the 49th Section of the Śānti Parva of the Mahābhārata. Sarvakarmā, a descendant of Sudās, is there mentioned as one of those Kshatriyas who had been preserved from the general massacre by Parāśara, grandson of Vaśishṭha: तयाऽनुकम्पमानेन यज्ञनाऽमिततेजसा । पराशरेण दायादः सौदासस्याभिरक्षितः । सर्वकर्माणि कुरुते शूद्रवत् तस्य वै द्विजः । सर्वकर्मेत्यभिख्यातः स मां रक्षतु पार्थिवः । "Sarva-"karmā, the son of Saudāsa, was preserved by the tender-hearted priest "Parāśara, who performed, though a Brahman, all menial offices (*sarvakar-"māṇi*) for him, like a Śūdra;—whence the prince's name: &c." The Mahābhārata, when recording a number of good deeds done to Brahmans, has also the following allusion to Mitrasaha and Vasishṭha: Śānti Parva, verse 8604. राजा मित्रसहश्चापि वशिष्ठाय महात्मने । दमयन्तीं प्रियां दत्त्वा तया सह दिवं गतः । "King Mitrasaha, having bestowed his dear Damayantī on "Vaśishṭha, ascended to heaven along with her."

The same passage has two further allusions to Vasishṭha, which, though unconnected with our present subject, may be introduced here. *First:* it is said, verse 8591: रन्तिदेवश्च सांकृत्यो वशिष्ठाय महात्मने । अपः प्रदाय शीतोष्णा नाकपृष्ठे महीयते । "Rantidēva son of Sankriti, who gave Vaśishṭha "tepid water, is exalted to the heavenly regions." (See the Bhāg. Pur. IX. 21. 2—18, where the various acts of self-sacrifice practised by this prince are celebrated.) *Second:* it is said of Vasishṭha in verse 8601: अवर्षति च पर्जन्ये सर्वभूतानि भूतकृत् । वशिष्ठो जीवयामास प्रजापतिरिव

Professor Lassen, who quotes these stories regarding Vaśishṭha and Viśwāmitra (Ind. Alterthumsk. I. 721—6), makes the following remarks

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प्रजाः । "When Indra failed to send rain, the creative Vaśishṭha, like "Brahmā, gave life to all beings."

Vasishṭha, in short, is continually reappearing in the Mahābhārata. I will here adduce but one other passage. In the Sānti Parva, verses 10118 et seqq., he is declared "by reciting the Rathantăra, a part of the "Sāma Veda, to have encouraged Indra, when he became bewildered in "his conflict with Vrittra, saying to him, 'Thou art the chief of the gods, "the slayer of the Daityas, and Asuras, possessing all the strength of the "three worlds; wherefore, Indra, dost thou despond? There are here "present Brahmā, Vishnu, Śiva, the divine Soma, and all the chief "ṛishis. Faint not, o Indra, like an ordinary being. Assume a heroic "spirit for the fight, and slay thine enemies, &c.'" Strength was thus infused into Indra: तस्य वृत्तार्हितस्याथ मोह आसीच्छतक्रतोः । रथन्तरेण तं तत्र वशिष्ठः समबोधयत् । वशिष्ठ उवाच । देवश्रेष्ठोऽसि देवेन्द्र दैत्यासुरनिबर्हण । त्रैलोक्यबलसंयुक्तः कस्माच्छक्र निषीदसि । एष ब्रह्मा च विष्णुश्च शिवश्चैव जगत्पतिः । सोमश्च भगवान्देवः सर्वे च परमर्षयः । मा कार्षीः कश्मलं शक्र कश्चिदेवेतरो यथा । आर्य्यां युद्धे मतिं कृत्वा जहि शत्रून् सुराधिपः ॥

In the Rāja Taranginī, Book IV. verses 619—655 (pp. 188 et seqq., and note, pp. 521, 522, of Troyer's edition, Vol. I., and Vol. II. 189. 469, note), a story is told of a king Jayāpīḍa who oppressed his people, and persecuted the Brāhmans, and was eventually destroyed by them in a miraculous manner. He is compared to Saudāsa in verse 625: स सौदास इवानेकलोकप्राणापहारकृत् । असुत्यकृत्यसौहित्यं स्वप्नेऽपि न समाययौ । "Like Saudāsa, depriving "many persons of their lives, he was not satiated with wicked deeds even "in his dreams." When one of the Brahmans stood up on behalf of the rest to remonstrate, "the king haughtily asked him: 'Art thou Viśwāmitra, "or Vaśishṭha, so rich in devotion? or Agastya? or what art thou?' The "Brahman answered, swelling with indignation: 'Just as thou art a "Hariśchandra, a Triśanku, or a Nahusha, so too I have power to be a "Viśwāmitra, or one of those other ṛishis.' The king answered with a smile "of contempt, 'Hariśchandra and the rest perished by the wrath of Viś-"wāmitra and the other sages: but what will come of thy wrath?' The "Brahman angrily replied, smiting the ground with his hand, 'When I am "incensed, shall not the Brahmanical bolt instantly descend?' The king "retorted with an angry laugh; 'Let it descend: why does it not come "down at once?' 'Has it not fallen, tyrant?' said the Brahman: and

on their import (p. 725): "The legend of the struggle between Vasishṭha "and Viśwāmitra embraces two distinct points: one is the contest between "the priests and warriors for the highest rank; the other is the temporary alienation of the Ikshwākus from their family priests. Vasishṭha "is represented as the exemplar of such a priest; and the story of Kalmāshapāda is related for the express purpose of showing by an example "that the Ikshwākus, after they had retained him, were victorious, and "fulfilled perfectly the duties of sacrifice (see above, p. 96): in his capacity of priest he continues to live on, and is the representative of his "whole race. We may conclude from the legend that his descendants had "acquired the position of family priests to the Ikshwākus, though neither "he himself nor his son Śaktri belonged to their number. Triśanku is the "first prince who forsook them, and had recourse to Viśwāmitra. His "successor Ambarīsha received support from that personage, as well as "from Ṛichīka, one of the Bhṛigus;—a family whose connexion with "the Kuśikas appears also in the story of Paraśurāma. The hostility "between the Ikshwākus and the family of Vasishṭha continued down to "Kalmāshapāda. Viśwāmitra is represented as having intentionally fostered "the alienation; while Vasishṭha is described as forbearing (though he had "the power) to annihilate his rival."

### SECT. XVI.—*Contest of Vaśishṭha and Viśwāmitra at the court of king Sudās, according to the Rig Veda.*

The prince called Mitrasaha, Kalmāshapāda, or Saudāsa, who is the subject of the preceding legend, belonged to the solar race, and was, according to the Vishnu Purāna, (as we have seen, p. 113,) the descendant of Sāgāra in the thirteenth generation. He was the son of Sudāsa, who again was the son of Sarvakāma, and grandson of Ṛituparṇa. According to the

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"he had no sooner spoken, than a golden beam fell from the canopy "and smote the king," so that he became tortured by worms, and shortly after died; and went, as the story concludes, to hell. आह स्म विश्वामित्रो वा वशिष्ठो वा तपोनिधिः । त्वमगस्त्योऽथवा किं स्य इति दर्पेण तं नृपः ॥ ..... भवान् यत्र हरिश्चन्द्रस्त्रिशंकुर्नहुषोऽपि वा । विश्वामित्रमुखेभ्योऽहं तत्रैको भवितुं क्षमः ॥ विहस्योवाच तं राजा विश्वामित्रादिकोपतः । हरिश्चन्द्रादयो नष्टास्त्वयि क्रुद्धे तु किं भवेत् ॥ पाणिना ताडयद्भूर्वी ततः क्रुद्धोऽभ्यधाद् द्विजः । मयि क्रुद्धे क्षणादेव ब्रह्मदण्डः पतेत्र किम् ॥ तच्छ्रुत्वा विहसन् राजा कोपाद् ब्राह्मणमब्रवीत् । पततु ब्रह्मदण्डोऽसौ किमद्यापि विलम्बते ॥ नन्वयं पतितो जाल्मेत्यथ विप्रेण भाषिते । राज्ञः कनकदण्डोऽङ्गे वितानस्खलितोऽपतत् ॥

Harivaṅśa, Saudāsa was the son of Sudāsa, and himself grandson of Ṛituparṇa. Among the kings of the lunar race (Wilson, Vishnu Purana, pp. 454, 455) we find another Saudāsa, who was son of Sudāsa, grandson of Chyavana, great-grandson of Mitrāyu, and great-great-grandson of Divōdāsa. Divōdāsa himself was son of Bahwaśwa, and grandson of Mudgala. It might therefore appear to be a difficult task to identify the Sudāsa of the Purānas with the Sudās to whom Manu alludes (VII. 41) in the verse already quoted in Sect. I. (pp. 58, 59, supra) as the son or descendant of Piyavana; and who is mentioned in several passages of the Rig Veda, with the same parentage. Yet the Puranic traditions regarding the king of this name have so much in common with what is implied in the Vedic hymns, and in the texts from the Brahmanas (see note 22, in pp. 114, 115) which allude to Sudās, that we are compelled to conclude that the same individual is referred to in all these works.

I shall proceed to detail the distinct traces of rivalry between Vasishṭha and Viśwāmitra, as competitors for the family-priesthood of a prince of this name, which have been pointed out by Prof. R. Roth, in the 3d of his dissertations on the literature and history of the Veda, (Zur Litteratur und Geschichte des Weda. Drei Abhandlungen von R. Roth. Stuttgart, 1846,) pp. 87—144.

The Vedic hymns, being far more ancient than the Epic and Puranic compilations, are more trustworthy guides to a knowledge of the remotest Indian antiquity. While the Epic poems and the Puranas no doubt contain numerous ancient traditions, yet these have been freely altered according to the caprice of later writers, and have received many purely fictitious additions. The Vedic hymns, on the contrary, have been preserved unchanged from a very remote period, and contain a faithful reflexion of the state of society, as it existed when they were composed, and of the feelings awakened by contemporary occurrences. As yet there was no conscious perversion or colouring of facts for sectarian purposes: and much of the information which we derive from these inartificial compositions is the more trustworthy that it is deduced from hints, and allusions, and from the comparison of detached particulars, rather than from direct and connected statements or descriptions. It is here therefore that we may look for the clearest light on the real relations of Vasishṭha and Viśwāmitra.

The hymns of the VIIth Mandala of the Rig Veda are ascribed by the ancient index of that Veda to Vasishṭha, or his descendants; while the IIIrd Mandala is, in like manner, traditionally reputed to have been "revealed" to Viśwāmitra and his family. Roth remarks (p. 112) that we cannot, indeed, assume that the hymns which he quotes were composed by Vasishṭha and Viśwāmitra themselves; but that we may suppose them to be

the work of the families of which these ṛishis were the heads. In some hymns of Vasishṭha's Mandala we find that person connected with king Sudās as his family-priest; while, on the other hand, in one hymn of Viśwāmitra's Mandala a similar relation is alluded to as existing between him and the same chieftain.

The passages of the VIIth Mandala which refer to Vasishṭha's connexion with Sudās are these. The 4th and part of the 5th verses of the 18th Sūkta are as follows: "Seeking to milk thee [o Indra], as a cow in a rich pasture, "*Vasishṭha sent forth his prayers.* All my [dependants] declare thee to be "a lord of cows. May Indra come to [receive] our praises. *Indra made* "*the swelling waters fordable for Sudās, and easy to cross.*"[25] Again in "verse 9th it is said: Indra subdued to Sudās his enemies with flourishing "offspring, and boastful among men."[26] The concluding four verses are said by the commentator, following the Anukramaṇī, to be in praise of the liberality of Sudās:[27] and the last of these is as follows: "Protect "him, ye powerful Maruts, *as ye did Divodāsa the father of Sudās. Pre-* "*serve the house of Paijavana*, and grant that this pious king's power "may continue undecaying."[28] Again in the 33d hymn of the same Mandala we find the following allusions to the relations of Vasishṭha

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[25] Rig Veda, VII. 18, verses 4 and 5. धेनुं न त्वा सुयवसे दुधुक्षन्नुप ब्रह्माणि ससृजे वशिष्ठः । त्वामिन्मे गोपतिं विश्व आहा न इन्द्रः सुमतिं गन्वच्छ ॥ ४ ॥ अर्णांसि चित् पप्रथाना सुदास इन्द्रो गाधान्यकृणोत् सुपारा ॥ ५ ॥

[26] Rig Veda, VII. 18, verse 9. सुदास इन्द्रः सुतुकान् अमित्रान् अरन्धयद् मानुषे वध्रिवाचः ॥

[27] Sāyana's introduction to this hymn: द्वाविंशादिभिश्चतसृभिः सुदासनाम्नो राज्ञो दानं स्तूयते । अतस्तास्तद्देवताकाः । अनुक्रम्यते हि त्वे ह यत् पञ्चाधिकैन्द्रं सुदासः पैजवनस्य चतसोऽन्या दानस्तुतिरिति ॥

[28] Rig Veda, VII. 18. 25. इमं नरो मरुतः सश्चतानु दिवोदासं न पितरं सुदासः । अविष्टना पैजवनस्य केतं दूणाशं क्षत्रमजरं दुवोयु । Sāyana considers Divōdāsa to be another name for Pijavana; and regards both names as designating the father of Sudās. Pijavana, however, may have been the father of Divōdāsa. In a text of the Mahābhārata, Book XII. verse 2306 (referred to by Weber, Indische Studien II. 194), this king is stated to have been a Śūdra. शूद्रः पैयवनो नाम सहस्राणां शतं ददौ । "A Śūdra, "called Paiyavana, gave a hundred thousand." Can the word शूद्रः here have been erroneously substituted by the author of this line for सुदाः? It is scarcely credible that in the Vedic age a Śūdra should have been a king.

or his family with Sudās: "1. The Vasishṭhas, in white robes, with their "hair-knots on the right, devoted to sacred rites, have gladdened me. "Rising up, I call the people round the sacrificial-grass. Let not the "Vasishṭhas depart from my door. 2. By their libations they have brought "hither the fierce Indra who was drinking from the bowl. Indra preferred "the Vasishṭhas to the soma poured forth by Pāśadyumna the son of "Vāyăta. 3. Thus with them he crossed the river; with them he slew "Bheda. Thus in the battle of the ten kings, *Indra protected Sudās* "*through your prayer, o Vasishṭhas.* 5. As thirsty men [looking] up to "heaven, they appeared distressed, when surrounded, in the fight of the "ten kings. *Indra heard Vasishṭha when he uttered praise,* and *opened* "*up a wide space to the Tṛitsus.* 6. The petty Bharatas were cut through "like staves for driving cattle. *Vasishṭha advanced in front;* and imme- "diately the tribes of the Tritsus extended themselves."[29] The divine knowledge of the Vasishṭhas, and the virtue of their hymns, are thus celebrated in the 7th and 8th verses: "Three [gods] create a fertilizing seed in "the worlds. There are three creatures glorious and splendid. Three "fires follow the dawn. *All these the Vasishṭhas know.* Their light is "like the strength of the sun, their greatness like the depth of the sea. "As the speed of the wind, so, *o Vasishṭhas, your hymns can be equalled* "*by no one else.*"[30] Roth remarks (p. 113, 114) on this hymn, that its

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[29] Rig Veda, VII. 33. 1—3, and 5, 6. श्वित्यञ्चो मा दक्षिणतःकपर्दा धियं जिन्वासो अभि हि प्रमन्दुः। उद्दिशन् वोचे परि बर्हिषो नॄन्। न मे द्वाराद् (This is Roth's reading; my MS. reads दूराद्) अवितवे वसिष्ठाः ॥१॥ दूरादिन्द्रमनयन्ना सुतेन तिरो वैशन्तम् अति पान्तमुग्रम्। पाशद्युम्नस्य वायतस्य सोमात् सुतादिन्द्रो अवृणीता वसिष्ठान् ॥ २ ॥ एवेन्नु कं सिन्धुमेभिस्ततारैवेन्नु कं भेदमेभिर्जघान। एवेन्नु कं दाशराज्ञे सुदासं प्रावदिन्द्रो ब्रह्मणा वो वसिष्ठाः ॥ ३ ॥ उद् द्यामिवेत् तृष्णजो नाथितासो अदीधयुर्दाशराज्ञे वृतासः। वसिष्ठस्य स्तुवत इन्द्रो अश्रोद् उरुं तृत्सुभ्यो अकृणोद् उ लोकम् ॥५॥ दराडा इवेद् गोअजनास आसन् परिच्छिन्ना भरता अभैकासः। अभवच्च पुर एता वसिष्ठ आदित् तृत्सूनां विशो अप्रथन्त ॥६॥

[30] Rig Veda, VII. 33. 7 and 8. त्रयः कृण्वन्ति भुवनेषु रेतस्तिस्रः प्रजा (Roth reads अजाः p. 119) आर्या ज्योतिरग्राः। त्रयो घर्मास उषसं सचन्ते सर्वानित् ताननुविदुर्वसिष्ठाः ॥ ७ ॥ सूर्यस्येव वक्षथो ज्योतिरेषां समुद्रस्येव महिमा गभीरः। वातस्येव प्रजवो नान्येन स्तोमो वसिष्ठा अन्वेतवे वः ॥ ८ ॥ Haug remarks in the Journal of the German Oriental Society for 1855, p. 686, that by means of the beneficent deities of the Vedic pantheon, among whom the

contents forbid us to ascribe it to Vasishṭha or his descendants, as they are themselves the subject of it; and that it may therefore have been the production of some one of Sudās's followers; or, if we are to take some of its phrases in their strict sense, that it can only have been uttered by the prince himself. In another hymn (the 83d) of the same Maṇḍala (also ascribed to Vasishṭha) allusion is again made to the same battle of the ten kings, and to the priests with hair-knots on the right side: "Beholding "you, o heroes, [and trusting to] your friendship, men with broad spears, "eager for the fight, have rushed forward. Ye have killed our Dāsa "enemies and our Ārya enemies, and protected Sudās, o Mitra and Varuna, "by your succour." . . . . . "O Indra and Varuna, destroying Bheda with "your irresistible arrows, ye have preserved Sudās. Ye heard the prayers "of these men in their invocation: *the intercession of the Ṭṛitsus was efficacious.* Both sides, in their battles, invoke you twain, Indra and Varuṇa, to "bestow wealth; [and also in the fight] *where ye delivered Sudās, along "with the Ṭṛitsus,* when distressed by the ten kings. The ten impious "kings united could not, o Indra and Varuṇa, overcome Sudās. The "hymn of the attendants at the sacrifice was effectual: the gods were "present at their offering. Ye, o Indra and Varuṇa, *have succoured "Sudās,* when hemmed in on every side in the combat of the ten kings, "where *the white-robed Ṭṛitsus with braided hair* adored you reverently "with prayers."[31]

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gods of light were the most prominent, the Vedic poets, especially those of Vasishṭha's family, had been led to a more spiritual conception of the divine nature.

[31] Rig Veda, VII. 83. 1. 4, and 6—8. युवां नरः पश्यमानास आप्यं प्राचा गव्यन्तः पृथुपर्शवो ययुः । दासा च वृत्रा हतम् आर्याणि च सुदासम् इन्द्रवरुणाऽवसाऽवतम् ॥ १ ॥ इन्द्रावरुणा वधनाभिरप्रति भेदं वन्वन्ता प्र सुदासमावतम् । ब्रह्माण्येषां शृणुतं हवीमनि सत्या तृत्सूनामभवत् पुरोहितिः ॥ ४ ॥ युवां हवन्त उभयास आजिषु इन्द्रं च वस्वो वरुणं च सातये । यत्र राजभिर्दशभिर्निबाधितम् । प्र सुदासमावतां तृत्सुभिः सह ॥ ६ ॥ दश राजानः समिता अयज्यवः सुदासमिन्द्रावरुणा न युयुधुः । सत्या नृणाम् अन्नसदामुपस्तुतिर्देवा एषामभवन् देवहूतिषु ॥ ७ ॥ दाशराज्ञे परियत्ताय विश्वतः सुदास इन्द्रवरुणावशिक्षतम् । श्वित्यञ्चो यत्र नमसा कपर्दिनो धिया धीवन्तो असपन्त तृत्सवः ॥ ८ ॥ Roth here quotes (Abhandl. p. 120), from a MS. book called the *Gṛihya-sangraha-pariśishṭha,* the following verse, in which the peculiar manner in which the Vaśishṭha family wore their hair is alluded to: दक्षिणकपर्दा वासिष्ठा आत्रेयास्त्रिकपर्दिनः । अङ्गिरसः पञ्चचूडा मुण्डा भृगवः शिखिनोऽन्ये ॥ "The descendants of Vasishṭha

According to the commentator, the Tṛitsus were priests or disciples, dependants of Vasishtha. (Langlois's Rig Veda, III. p. 240, note 2.)

In the Aitarēya Brāhmana, as quoted by Mr. Colebrooke, (Misc. Ess. I. 40,) we have another testimony to the connexion of Vasishṭha with Sudās, as he is there said to have "consecrated Sudās son of Pijavana," by a "great inauguration similar to Indra's."

The third Maṇḍala of the Rig Veda is, as I have stated, made up almost exclusively of compositions ascribed to Viśwāmitra, and other ṛishis of his family. The hymns by which the connexion of that personage with king Sudās is established, are the following. In reference to the 33d hymn of that Book the following notice is given by Yāska in his ancient work (on the obsolete terms in the Veda) the Nirukta: [32] "They here relate a story. *The ṛishi "Viśwāmitra was the family-priest (purōhita) of Sudās the son of Pijavana* "... [here the etymologies of the names of Viśwāmitra, Sudās and Pai-"javana are given] ... He took his property, and came to the junction "of the Vipāś and Śutudrī (Sutlej); and others followed. Viśwāmitra "addressed the rivers in a hymn [with the words] 'Become fordable &c.'" [33] Sāyaṇa, the commentator on the Rig Veda, repeats the story, and adds that the property which Viśwāmitra brought had been obtained by him for his services as *purōhita;* and that he invoked the rivers, which he perceived were not fordable, with the view of getting across. [34] In this hymn itself there is no mention made of the name of Sudās: but in the 53d we find the following verses: "The great, god-born, god-commissioned ṛishi, the beholder

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"have their hair gathered on the right side; the descendants of Atri wear "it in three braids; the Angirasas have five locks; the Bhrigus are shaven; "the others have a lock of hair on the crown." Vasishṭha is mentioned, among other ancient worthies, Rig Veda I. 112. 9, as having been succoured by the Aświns: .... वसिष्ठं याभिरजरावजिन्वतम् । "Come, ye immortal "Aświns, with those [aids] by which ye gladdened Vasishṭha."

[32] On the age of the Nirukta see Roth, Zur Litt. und Gesch. des Weda, pp. 20—1, as well as Müller, in the place quoted above, p. 76, note 20.

[33] Nirukta, II. 24. तत्रेतिहासमाचक्षते विश्वामित्र ऋषिः सुदासः पैजवनस्य पुरोहितो बभूव ..... स वित्तं गृहीत्वा विपाट्छुतुद्र्योः सम्भेदमाययावनुययुरितरे । स विश्वामित्रो नदीस्तुष्टाव गाधा भवतेति ॥

[34] Sāyana's introduction to the 33d hymn of the IIId Maṇḍala: पुरा किल विश्वामित्रः पैजवनस्य सुदासो राज्ञः पुरोहितो बभूव । स च पौरोहित्येन लब्धनः सर्वं धनमादाय विपाट्छुतुद्र्योः सम्भेदमाययावनुययुरितरे । अथोज्जिहीर्षुर्विश्वामित्रोऽगाधजले ते नद्यौ दृष्ट्वा उत्तरणार्थम् आद्याभिस्तिसृभिस्तुष्टाव ॥

" of men, has stayed the watery current. *When Viśwāmitra sacrificed for* " *(or carried) Sudās, then Indra was propitiated through the Kauśikas.* [35]

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[35] Rig Veda, III. 53. 9. **महाँ ऋषिर्देवजा देवजूतोऽस्तभ्नात् सिन्धुमर्णवं नृचक्षाः । विश्वामित्रो यदवहत् सुदासमप्रियायत कुशिकेभिरिन्द्रः ॥** On this verse Sāyaṇa annotates as follows: **महान् तपसातिशयितसामर्थ्यवानृषिरतीन्द्रियार्थद्रष्टा देवजा द्योतमानानां तेजसां जनयिता देवजूतस्तैस्तेजोभिराकृष्टो नृचक्षा नृणां कर्मनेतॄणाम् अध्वर्यूदीनामुपद्रष्टा स विश्वामित्रोऽर्णवमुदकवन्तं सिन्धुं विपाट्छुतुद्र्योः सम्भेदमस्तभ्नात् निरुद्धवेगमकरोत् । किञ्च स विश्वामित्रः सुदासं पैजवनं राजानं यद् यदाऽवहत् अयाजयत् तदानीमिन्द्रः कुशिकेभिः कुशिकगोत्रोत्पन्नैर्ऋषिभिः सहाप्रियायत प्रिय इवाचरत् ।** " The great ṛishi, i. e. beholder " of invisible things, who by penance had acquired immense energy, the " producer of brilliant radiances, attracted by those radiances, the over- " looker of the conductors of sacred ceremonies,—this Viśwāmitra stemmed " the confluence of the Vipāś and Śutudri (Sutlej). And when Viśwāmitra " offered sacrifice for king Sudās, son of Pijavana, then Indra, along with " the ṛishis of the race of Kuśika, was gratified."

Professor Wilson translates *devājāh* " generator of the gods;" and remarks that " the compound is not *devajā* 'god-born,' nor was Viswāmitra of " divine parentage." We find, however, that in hymn 29th, verse 15, the race of the Kuśikas, to which that ṛishi belonged, is spoken of, according to the commentator's interpretation, as being the firstborn of Brahmā. The verse is as follows: **अमित्रायुधो मरुतामिव प्रयाः प्रथमजा ब्रह्मणो विश्वमिद् विदुः । द्युम्नवद् ब्रह्म कुशिकास एरिर एक एको दमे अग्निं समीधिरे ।** " De- " stroyers of their foes, like the hosts of the Maruts, the Kuśikas, first- " born of Brahmā (or of prayer, *brahmā*) know all the universe. They " have sent forth prayers, accompanied by oblations. Each one has " kindled Agni in his own house." In this passage the commentator, followed by Prof. Wilson, connects the words **प्रथमजा ब्रह्मणः**, and understands them to mean " the firstborn of Brahmā, the creator of the " universe." **ब्रह्मणः सर्वस्य जगतः स्रष्टुः प्रथमजाः प्रथममुत्पन्नाः कुशिकासः कुशिकगोत्रोत्पन्ना ऋषयो विश्वं स्थावरजङ्गमात्मकं सर्वं जगद् विदुरित् जानन्त्येव ।** But is this sense of the word *brahma* known to the earliest hymns? If not, may not the words mean " the firstborn of prayer, or sacred rites?" Or could the words **ब्रह्मणो विश्वम्** be connected, and the word **प्रथमजाः** be construed separately, in the sense of " earliest;" (as in the Vājasanēyi Sanhitā, XVIII. 52); and the clause be understood as saying that " the " ancient Kuśikas know the totality of religious rites?" The word **जाः** is given in the Naighaṇṭuka 2. 2. as a synonym of **अपत्य** " offspring." See

"When the Soma juice is expressed at the sacrifice, then gladdening [the "gods] with hymns, utter with the stones a sound of praise like swans. *Along "with the gods, do ye, o Kuśikas, ye wise ṛishis, directors of men, drink the "sweet Soma.*[36] Approach, ye Kuśikas, be observant; *let loose the horse "of Sudās* to [gain] wealth. The king (Sudās, or Indra?) has slain his enemy "[or Vrittra] in the east, west, and north: now let him sacrifice in the best "part of the earth.[37] *This prayer of me, Viśwāmitra, (who have caused "heaven and earth to glorify Indra,) preserves the family of Bharata.*[38] *The "Viśwāmitras have made a prayer to Indra*, the wielder of the thunderbolt: "may he make us rich."[39] The 17th verse of the same hymn runs thus: "May the two horses be steady, the axle strong; may the pole not be weak, "or the yoke rotten. May Indra preserve the two pins from decay. O "Arishṭanemi, (or [car] with uninjured felloes,) do thou meet us."[40] On

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also Benfey's glossary. The fact that (as we have seen above, pp. 82, 83, and note 50) Indra is called a Kauśika, even in the Rig Veda itself, while the later legends assert that that god himself became incarnate as Gādhi, father of Viśwāmitra, affords also some support to the rendering of *dēvajāh* which I have adopted.

[36] Rig Veda, III. 53. 10. हंसा इव कृणुथ श्लोकमद्रिभिर्मदन्तो गीर्भिरध्वरे सुते सचा। देवेभिर्विप्रा ऋषयो नृचक्षसो वि पिबध्वं कुशिकाः सोम्यं मधु॥ Compare the Mahābhārata, quoted above, p. 98: "The Kauśika drank "Soma with Indra."

[37] Rig Veda, III. 53. 11. उप प्रेत कुशिकाश्चेतयध्वमश्वं राये प्रमुञ्चता सुदासः। राजा वृत्रं जङ्घनत् प्रागपागुदग् अथा यजाते वर आ पृथिव्याः॥ Part of Sāyaṅa's annotation is as follows: हे कुशिकाः कुशिकगोत्रोत्पन्ना हे पुत्रा उप प्रेत . . . सुदासः पैजवनस्य राज्ञोऽश्वं राये तस्य दिग्विजयेन धनलाभाय प्रमुञ्चत। "O men of the race of Kuśika, o sons, approach . . . "send forth the horse of king Sudās, son of Pijavana, to acquire wealth by "his conquests." Sāyaṅa understands the king in the following line to mean Indra.

[38] Rig Veda, III. 53. 12. य इमे रोदसी उभे अहमिन्द्रमतुष्टवम्। विश्वामित्रस्य रक्षति ब्रह्मेदं भारतं जनम्॥

[39] Rig Veda, III. 53. 13. विश्वामित्रा अरासत ब्रह्मेन्द्राय वज्रिणे। करदिन्नः सुराधसः॥

[40] Rig Veda, III. 53. 17. स्थिरौ गावौ भवतां वीळुरक्षो मेषा वि वर्हि मा युगं वि शारि। इन्द्रः पातल्ये ददतां शरीतोररिष्टनेमे अभि नः सचस्व॥ The word rendered "horses," (after Sāyaṇa,) is *gāvau*, the dual of *go*, which means an ox or cow in later Sanskrit.

this Sāyaṇa annotates thus: "*Viśwāmitra, having performed the final ablutions* "*at the sacrifice of king Sudās*, and being desirous to depart from the hall "of sacrifice, when yoking the horses to the car, celebrates the several por- "tions of the latter." [41] In regard to the 21st and three following verses, the Anukrămăṇikā, (or ancient Index to the Veda,) as cited by Sāyaṇa in his introduction to the hymn, contains this remark: "The concluding verses "contain an imprecation, and express hatred to Vasishṭha: the Vasishṭhas "do not listen to them." [42] These four verses are as follows: "21. Indra, "approach us to-day with many excellent succours: Maghavan, hero, be "propitious to us. May he who hates us fall low; and let the breath of "life forsake him whom we hate. 22. As [the tree] suffers from the stroke "of the axe; as the śimbala flower is broken; as the caldron boiling over, "casts forth foam, [so may it be with my enemy,] o Indra. 23. The "[might] of the destroyer (or [the flight of] the arrow) is not perceived. "Men lead away [the ṛishi] intent [on his devotions], regarding him as if "he were a beast. The wise do not condescend to ridicule the fool, (or "men do not set the jade to run against the courser). They do not lead "the ass before the horse. 24. These sons of Bhărăta have learnt to turn "away from, not to associate with, [the Vasishṭhas]. They urge the horse "[against them, as against] a constant foe. They bear about the bow in "battle." [43]

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[41] Commentator on verse 17. राज्ञः सुदासो यज्ञेऽवभृथं कृत्वा यज्ञशालातो निर्गन्तुमिच्छन् रथेऽश्वादिकं युञ्जानो विश्वामित्रो रथाङ्गानि स्तौति ॥

[42] अन्या अभिशापार्थास्ता वसिष्ठद्वेषिण्यो न वसिष्ठाः शृण्वन्ति ॥

[43] Rig Veda, VII. 53. 21 et seqq. इन्द्रोतिभिर्बहुलाभिर्नो अद्य याच्छेष्ठाभिर्मघवन् शूर जिन्व । यो नो द्वेष्यधरः सस्यदीष्ट यमु द्विष्मस्तमु प्राणो जहातु ॥ On verse 21. Sāyaṇa observes; परस्य शापं करिष्यन् आदावात्मनो रक्षां करुते प्रथमेनार्द्धर्चेन । . . . अथ शपति । "Being about to curse another person, "the speaker in the hymn first of all [seeks to] protect himself . . . Then "he proceeds to curse."

Verse 22. परशुं चिद्वि तपति शिम्बलं चिद्वि वृश्चति । उखा चिदिन्द्र येषन्ती प्रयस्ता फेनमस्यति ॥ The last half of this verse is thus explained by the commentator; प्रयस्ता प्रहता येषन्ती स्रवन्मुखा चित् स्थालीव स द्वेष्टा मदीयमन्त्रसामर्थ्येन प्रहतः सन् फेनमस्यति फेनं मुखाद्वमिरतु । "Like a shattered and "leaking caldron, the enemy, smitten by the power of my imprecation, "sends forth foam; that is, let him vomit foam from his mouth." I have followed Professor Roth's rendering.

Verse 23. न सायकस्य चिकिते जनासो लोधं नयन्ति पशु मन्यमानाः । नावा-

In the Vrihaddevatā the following lines occur relating to these verses: "The other four verses in that hymn, which are regarded as expressing

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जिनं वाजिना हासयन्ति न गर्हेभं पुरो अश्वात् नयन्ति ॥ Sāyaṇa's note on this is the following: पुरा खलु तपसः क्षयो मा प्रापदिति शापात् निवृत्तं मौनिनं विश्वामित्रं वसिष्ठपुरुषा बद्ध्वा नीतवन्तः । तान् प्रति विश्वामित्रो ब्रूते हे जनासो जनाः सायकस्यावसानकारिणो विश्वामित्रस्य मन्त्रगणसामर्थ्यं न चिकिते भवद्भिर्न ज्ञायते । अत एव लोधं लुब्धं तपसः क्षयो मा भूदिति लोभेन तूष्णीं स्थितमृषिं पशु मन्यमानाः ..... पशुवन्मन्यमाना एते नयन्ति बद्ध्वा स्वकीयं देशं प्रापयन्ति । एवं स्वसामर्थ्यं प्रदर्श्य विसदृशो वसिष्ठो मया सह स्पर्द्धितुं नार्हतीति धिक्करोति नावाजिनमिति । ..... वाचामिनो वाजिनः सर्वज्ञः । तद्विलक्षणं मूर्खजनं वाजिना वागीशा न हासयन्ति हास्यास्पदं न कुर्वन्ति तेन सह न स्पर्द्धन्त इत्यर्थः । तथा गर्हेभं रासभमश्वात् पुरः पुरस्ताद् न नयन्ति । एवमेव विसदृशो वसिष्ठो न मया स्पर्द्धितुमीष्ट इत्यर्थः ॥ "Formerly, as Vasishṭha's "followers bound and led away Viśwāmitra, who had ceased to curse, and "become silent, in order that his penance might not be neutralized, he said "to them, 'O men, ye know not the power of the imprecations uttered by "the destroying Viśwāmitra. Wherefore these men regard as a mere "animal this ṛishi who remains silent from an earnest desire that his "penance may not be nullified, and lead him away to his own country.' "Having thus asserted his own might, he, in the words which follow, con-"temptuously represents Vasishṭha as an inferior person, who ought not to "enter into competition with him: 'The wise do not make the fool an "object of their ridicule; that is, they do not engage in any rivalry with "him. In the same way men never lead an ass before a horse. Just so "Vasishṭha, who is not my equal, should not seek to contend with me." In the text I have given Roth's rendering as well as Sāyaṇa's. Roth would understand "Lodha" as a proper name; or would conjecture that it may designate some animal unfit for sacrifice. See also the remarks in his Illustrations (Erlaüterungen) of the Nirukta, p. 42.

Verse 24. इम इन्द्र भरतस्य पुत्रा अपपित्वं चिकितुर्न प्रपित्वम् । हिन्वन्त्यश्वम् अरणं न नित्यं ज्यावाजं परि णयन्त्याजौ ॥ Of this verse Sāyaṇa gives the following explanation: हे इन्द्र भरतस्य पुत्रा भरतवंश्या इमे विश्वामित्रा अपपित्वम् अपगमनं वसिष्ठेभ्यश्चिकितुर्जानन्ति । प्रपित्वं प्रगमनं न जानन्ति । शिष्टैः (quere वसिष्ठैः?) सह तेषां सङ्गतिर्नास्ति । ब्राह्मणा एव ते इत्यर्थः । अपि चाजौ संग्रामे नित्यं सहजम् अरणं न अरिमिव वसिष्ठान् प्रत्यश्वं हिन्वन्ति प्रेरयन्ति । ततश्च ज्यावाजं बलं धनुं परिणयन्ति वसिष्ठान् हन्तुं शरसन्धानेन चरन्ति । "O

"hatred to Vasishṭha, were uttered by Viśwāmitra, and are reputed to "contain imprecations. They are called the return of hatred for hatred [?]; "and should also be regarded as incantations. But the descendants of "Vasishṭha do not listen to them, according to the injunction of their "teacher. *Great guilt is incurred by repeating, or hearing them.* The "heads of those who do so become split into a hundred pieces; and "their children die. Wherefore let no one recite them."[44] Durga, the commentator on the Nirukta, in accordance with this warning, refrains from explaining a part of one of these verses, on the ground that "the text in "which this word (*lodha*) occurs is a verse expressing hatred of Vasishṭha; "but I am a Kāpishṭhala descended from Vasishṭha; therefore I do not "interpret it."[45]

Two other verses of this same hymn, the 15th and 16th, are regarded by Indian tradition as connected with the contests of these two rival families. They run as follows: "The daughter of the Sun, bestowed "by Jamadagni, (or by the ṛishis who have kindled fire,) every where "diffusing herself, and removing ignorance, has resounded mightily;

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"Indra, the sons of Bharata, i. e. these Viśwāmitras of the race of Bharata, "understand departure from the Vasishṭhas, not approach to them; i. e. "they do not associate with well-instructed men [qu. with the Vasishṭhas?]. "The sense is, that they are, in fact, Brahmans. And as in the battle "against a constant foe, so do they urge on their horses against the Va-"sishṭhas; and then advance to destroy them with their arrows." Professor Wilson remarks in a note in loco: "The sons of *Bharata* are the descend-"ants of *Viśwāmitra*, whose enmity to the race of *Vasishṭha* is here decidedly "expressed: this and the preceding stanzas are regarded as imprecations "denounced by *Viśwāmitra* against *Vaśishṭha*, with whom he had quarrelled "on account of his disciple the Raja Sudās."

[44] Vrihaddevata of Śaunaka, IV. 23—4, as quoted in Indische Studien I. 120. पराश्चतसो यास्तत्र वसिष्ठद्वेषिणीर्विदुः । विश्वामित्रेण ताः प्रोक्ता अभिशापा इति स्मृताः । द्वेषद्वेषास्तु ताः प्रोक्ता विद्याच्चैवाभिचारिकाः । वसिष्ठास्तु न शृण्वन्ति तदाचार्य्यकसम्मतम् । कीर्त्तनाच्छ्रवणाद् वापि महान् दोषः प्रजायते । शतधा भिद्यते मूर्द्धा कीर्त्तितेन श्रुतेन वा । तेषां बालाः प्रमीयन्ते तस्मात् तास्तु न कीर्त्तयेत् ॥

[45] The original remark of Durga is given both by Roth (Zur Litt. und Gesch. des Weda, p. 108. note), and by Müller (Preface to Rig Veda, Vol. II. p. LVI): यस्मिन्निगमे एष शब्दः (लोधः) सा वसिष्ठद्वेषिणी ऋक् । अहञ्च कापिष्ठलो वासिष्ठः । अतस्तां न निब्रवीमि ॥

" and has conveyed ambrosial, imperishable food to the gods. May she, " every where diffusing herself, speedily supply abundant food to these men " of the five classes,—she the daughter of the Sun, who possesses new life,— " she whom the aged Jamadagnis gave to me."[46] In the Vrihaddevatā some lines occur relative to this passage, which are quoted in Weber's Indische Studien; but as the text appears to be corrupt, and is in some places unintelligible, I content myself with citing the verses of Shaḍguru-śishya's commentary on the Anukrămănī, which are adduced in the same work; and are nearly identical in their tenor. The purport of these is as follows: " Regarding the two verses beginning ' Sasarparī &c.' persons " acquainted with antiquity tell a story. At the sacrifice of king Saudāsa, " the power and the words of Viśwāmitra were completely vanquished by " Śakti the son of Vasishṭha; and the son of Gāthi (Viśwāmitra) being so " overcome by the son of Vasishṭha, became dejected. The Jamadagnis " drew from the abode of the Sun a divine (*brāhmī*, derived from Brahmā) " or solar voice called Sasarparī; [or the Jamadagnis drew from the abode " of the Sun a Vāch called Sasarparī, the daughter of Brahmā, or the Sun]; " and gave it him. This voice or word somewhat dispelled the disquiet of " the Kuśikas. Viśwamitra then incited them with the words ' *Upaprēta*, " approach &c.', [which form the 11th verse of the same hymn]. And

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[46] Rig Veda, III. 53. 15 and 16. ससपरीरमतिं बाधमाना वृहद् मिमाय जमदग्निदत्ता । आ सूर्यस्य दुहिता ततान श्रवो देवेष्वमृतमजुर्यम् ॥ १५ ॥ ससपरीरभरत् तूयमेभ्योऽधि श्रवः पाञ्चजन्यासु कृष्टिषु । सा पक्ष्याइ नव्यमायुर्दधाना यां मे पलस्तिजमदग्नयो ददुः ॥ १६ ॥ Sāyaṇa's comment on the last verse is as follows: ससपरीः सर्वत्र गद्यपद्यात्मकत्वेन सर्पणशीला वाग्देवता पाञ्चजन्यासु कृष्टिषु । निषादपञ्चमाश्चत्वारो वर्णाः । तत्सम्बन्धिनीषु प्रजासु यच्छ्रवोऽन्नं विद्यते तन्नोऽस्मभ्यमधि अधिकं यथा भवति तथा तूयं क्षिप्रमभरत् । भरतु । सम्पादयतु । पलस्तिजमदग्नयः पलस्तयः पलिता दीर्घायुषो जमदग्नयो मुनयो यां वाचं सूर्यादाहृत्य मे मह्यं ददुरददुः पक्ष्या पक्षस्य पक्षादिनिर्वाहकस्य सूर्यस्य दुहिता सा वाक् नव्यं नवतरमायुरन्नं जीवनं वा दधाना मम कुर्वाणा भवतु । " May the " goddess of speech, who penetrates every where in the shape of prose and " verse, quickly provide for us more abundantly such food as is to be found " among men of the five classes, the four castes with the Nishādas. May " that Vāch whom the ancient munis, the Jamadagnis, drew out of the Sun, " and gave to me,—may she, the daughter of him who arranges the divisions " (of the months?), i. e. the Sun,—may she possess new food, or life, i. e. " confer it upon me."

" receiving the words with joy, he paid reverence to the Jamadagnis; cele-
" brating Vāch with the two verses beginning 'Sasarparī &c.'" [47]

The following verses from other hymns of the third Book of the Rig Veda allude to the exercise of sacerdotal functions by Viśwāmitra, or his family. In verse 3 of the 26th hymn it is said: "As a foal neighing [is " fed] by his mother, so Vaiśwānara (Agni) is kindled by the Kuśikas " every day, [or in every age]." [48] And in the 20th verse of the 30th hymn it is said: "The wise Kuśikas, desirous of heaven, have offered praise to " thee, o Indra, with hymns." [49] See also the 5th verse of the 43d hymn of the third Mandala, cited above, pp. 85, 86, and note 57. In the Atharva Veda, IV. 29. 3 and 5, Vasishṭha and Viśwāmitra are mentioned among other personages, Angiras, Agasti, Jamadagni, Atri, Kaśyapa, and others, as having been delivered by Mitra and Varuṇa. [50] And in Atharva Veda, XVIII. 3. 15 and 16, we have them, along with other Vedic rishis, invoked thus: " May this Viśwāmitra, Jamadagni, Atri preserve us, with Kaśyapa and " Vāmadēva. O Viśwāmitra, o Jamadagni, o Vasishṭha, o Bharadwāja, " o Gotama, o Vāmadeva, &c." [51]

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[47] Shaḍguruśishya's commentary on the Anukramaṇikā, quoted in Indische Studien I. 119—20. ससर्परीङ्गृचे प्राहुरितिहासं पुराविदः । सौदासनृपतेर्यज्ञे वसिष्ठात्मजशक्तिना । विश्वामित्रस्याभिभूतं बलं वाक् च समन्ततः । वासिष्ठेनाभिभूतः स ह्यवासीदच्च गाधिजः । तस्मै ब्राह्मीन्तु सौरीं वा नाम्ना वाचं ससर्परीम् । सूर्यवेश्मन आहृत्य ददुर्वै जमदग्नयः । कुशिकानां ततः सा वाङ् मनाक् चिन्तामथानुदत् । उपप्रेतेति कुशिकान् विश्वामित्रोऽन्वचोदयत् । लब्ध्वा वाचञ्च हृष्टात्मा जमदग्नीनपूजयत् । ससर्परीरिति द्वाभ्यामृग्भ्यां वाचं स्तुवन् स्वयम् । Instead of *Saudāsa*, the name given in this passage, the Vrihaddēvata has *Sudās*.

[48] Rig Veda, III. 26. 3. अश्वो न क्रन्दञ्जनिभिः समिध्यते वैश्वानरः कुशिकेभिर्युगे युगे । The commentator renders युगे युगे 'by every day.'

[49] Rig Veda, III. 30. 20. स्वर्यवो मतिभिस्तुभ्यं विप्रा इन्द्राय वाहः कुशिकासो अक्रन् ॥

[50] Atharva Veda, IV. 29. 3. . . . यावङ्गिरसमवथो यावगस्तिं मित्रावरुणा जमदग्निमत्रिम् । यौ कश्यपमवथो यौ वसिष्ठम् । . . . यौ भरद्वाजमवथो यौ गविष्ठिरं विश्वामित्रं वरुण मित्र कुत्सम् ॥

[51] Atharva Veda, XVIII. 3. 15, 16. विश्वामित्रोऽयं जमदग्निरत्रिरवन्तु नः कश्यपो वामदेवः ॥१५॥ विश्वामित्र जमदग्ने वसिष्ठ भरद्वाज गोतम वामदेव . . . . . ॥१६॥

In the last hymn of the seventh Mandala we find Vasishṭha hurling back imprecations on some of his enemies, perhaps on Viśwāmitra. The first verse is as follows: "13. Soma does not bless the wicked, nor the ruler "(*kshatriya*), who abuses his power. He slays the demon; he slays the "liar. Both of these lie bound with the fetters of Indra."[52] The translation of the next three verses, with the remarks which introduce it, I quote from Prof. Muller's "Last results of the Turanian researches:"[53] "Va- "sishṭha himself, the very type of the Arian Brahman, when in feud with "Viśwāmitra, is called not only an enemy, but a 'Yātudhāna,' and other "names which in common parlance are only bestowed on barbarian savages, "and evil spirits. We have still the very hymn in which Vasishṭha depre- "cates such charges with powerful indignation. He says: 14. 'If I had "worshipped false gods, or if I had called upon the gods in vain—But "why art thou angry with me, o Jātavedas? May vain talkers fall into thy "destruction. 15. May I die at once, if I be a Yātudhāna, or if I hurt the "life of any man. But may he be cut off from his ten friends, who falsely "called me a Yātudhāna. 16. He who called me a Yātudhāna, [when I "am no demon], or who said I am a bright devil—may Indra strike him "down with his great weapon, may he fall the lowest of all beings.'"[54] (I have added in the last verse the words "when I am no demon" as a translation of the word *ăyātum* in the original.)

The name of king Sudās occurs in the following passages of the Rig Veda, in addition to those already referred to: but little information can be extracted from them of an historical character, further than that Sudās was a well known and important personage. (1) Rig Veda, I. 47. 6: "O beautiful "Aświns, who carry wealth in your car, ye brought sustenance to Sudās. "Bring to us from the sky, or the heaven, the wealth which so many

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[52] Rig Veda, VII. 104. 13. न वा उ सोमो वृजिनं हिनोति न क्षत्रियं मिथुया धारयन्तम् । हन्ति रक्षो हन्यासद् वदन्तम् उभाविन्द्रस्य प्रसितौ शयाते ॥ In rendering the words मिथुया धारयन्तम् I follow Langlois, III. p. 183; having no other means of arriving at their sense.

[53] Bunsen's Outlines of the Philos. of Un. History, Vol. I. p. 344.

[54] Rig Veda, VII. 104. 14—16. यदि वाहमनृतदेव आस मोघं वा देवाँ अप्यूहे अग्ने । किमस्मभ्यं जातवेदो हृणीषे द्रोघवाचस्ते निर्ऋथं सचन्ताम् ॥ अद्या मुरीय यदि यातुधानो अस्मि यदि वायुस्ततप पूरुषस्य । अधा स वीरैर्दशभिर्वियूया यो मा मोघं यातुधानेत्याह ॥ यो माऽयातुं यातुधानेत्याह यो वा रक्षाः शुचिरस्मीत्याह । इन्द्रस्तं हन्तु महता वधेन विश्वस्य जन्तोरधमस्पदीष्ट ॥ The same passage occurs in the Atharva Veda, VIII. 4. 13—16.

" covet."[55] (2) Rig Veda, I. 63. 7: "Thou didst easily rend away the wealth " of Anhas, and bestow it on Sudās, who satiates thee with oblations." Or, as Roth renders the passage, (Zur Lit. und Gesch. des Weda, p. 132, note,) " When thou without difficulty scatterest [wealth] to Sudās, like sacrificial " grass, thou gavest to Pūru the riches of which he stood in need." [56] (3) Rig Veda, I. 112. 19: " Approach, o Aświns, with those aids by which " ye conferred desirable wealth on Sudās," [" son of Pijavana," Sāyaṇa]. [57] (4) Rig Veda, I. 185. 9: " O gods, we your worshippers, gladdening you " with food, desire much wealth, for the purposes of liberality." [58] In this line we have the word *sudās* (which means a " good giver") in the comparative, signifying, according to the Scholiast, " for the sake of liberality." It is difficult to see how an adjective in the comparative can have the sense of an abstract noun. Langlois understands the word as meaning " *a wor-* " *shipper more devoted than Sudās.*" Is it possible that *sudās* is an epithet, rather than a proper name? (5) Rig Veda, VII. 19. 3: "Thou, o undaunted " (Indra), hast by thy energy protected with numerous succours Sudās who " presented oblations. Thou hast protected Trasadasyu the son of Puru- " kutsa, and Pūru in his acquisition of territory in battles." [59] Here it would seem as if the ṛishi was speaking of Sudās as belonging to a previous era, and not as a contemporary. This hymn can scarcely, therefore, be the production of Vasishṭha himself. (6) Rig Veda, VII. 20. 2: " Indra " destroys Vritra. Growing (in power) the hero has, by his aid, protected " his worshipper. He opens up room for Sudās, and bestows riches again

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[55] Rig Veda, I. 47. 6. (The ṛishi is Praskaṇwa:) सुदासे दस्रा वसु बिभ्रता रथे पृक्षो वहतम् अश्विना । रयिं समुद्रादुत वा दिवस्पर्यस्मे धत्तं पुरुस्पृहम् ॥ Sāyaṇa in loco says: सुदासे .... राज्ञे पिजवनपुत्राय । " King Sudās, son " of Pijavana."

[56] Rig Veda, I. 63. 7. (The ṛishi is Nodhas, of the race of Gotama:) बर्हिर्न यत् सुदासे वृथा वर्गंहो राजन् वरिवः पूरवे कः ॥

[57] Rig Veda, I. 112. 19. (The ṛishi is Kutsa:) याभिः सुदासे ऊहतुः सुदेव्यं ताभिरु षु ऊतिभिरश्विना गतम् ॥

[58] Rig Veda, I. 185. 9. (The ṛishi is Agastya:) भूरि चिद् अर्यः सुदास्त्वरायेषा मदन्त इषयेम देवाः ॥

[59] Rig Veda, VII. 19. 3. (The ṛishi is Vasishṭha:) त्वं धृष्णो धृषता वीतहव्यं प्रावो विश्वाभिरूतिभिः सुदासम् । प्र पौरुकुत्सिं त्रसदस्युमावः क्षेत्रसाता वृत्रहत्येषु पूरुम् ॥

" and again on him who worships." [60] (7) Rig Veda, VII. 32. 10: " No " one can overturn or stop the car of Sudās. May he whose protectors are " Indra and the Maruts, walk in a pasture filled with cattle." [61] Langlois thinks the word *Sudās* should perhaps be here translated not as a proper name, but in the sense of a *pious and liberal man*.

The 133d hymn of the tenth Maṇḍala of the Rig Veda is ascribed to Sudās, son of Pijavana, as its ṛishi. (See Langlois's French version of the Rig Veda, IV. 427.)

Prof. Roth infers from the texts which he has quoted,—and apparently with good reason,—that Vasishṭha belonged to the tribe of the Tṛitsus; (in fact, as we have seen above, the commentator remarks, on hymn 83d, that they were priests or disciples dependant on him;) while Viśwāmitra, on the other hand, was, according to all the traditions, a member of the Kuśika family; and seems also to have been connected with the Bharatas.[62]

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[60] Rig Veda, VII. 20. 2. (Vasishṭha is the ṛishi:) हन्ता वृत्रमिन्द्रः शूशुवानः प्रावीन्नु वीरो जरितारमूती। कर्ता सुदासे अह वा ऊ लोकं दाता वसु मुहुरा दाशुषे भूत्॥

[61] Rig Veda, VII. 32. 10. (Vasishṭha is the ṛishi:) न किः सुदासो रथं पर्यास न रीरमत्। इन्द्रो यस्याविता यस्य मरुतो गमत् स गोमति व्रजे॥

[62] Viśwāmitra is called a Bhārata (as well as a Kuśika) in the passage regarding the sacrifice of Śunahsepa, quoted by Professors Wilson and Roth from the Aitarēya Brahmana. (See above, p. 84, note 55, and pp. 105, 106, note 7.) In a passage of the Mahābhārata, I. 3709—3723, (referred to by Roth, Zur Litt. und Gesch. p. 142—4, and Wilson in note 3 to verse 13 of the 53d hymn of the 3d Mandala, in p. 86 of his translation of the Rig Veda, Vol. III; see also pp. 111, 112 above,) it is stated that the Kuśikas were sprung from Jahnu, a descendant of Bhărata, according to the following genealogy, viz.: (1) Dushyanta, (2) *Bhărata*, (3) Bhumanyu, (4) Suhōtra, (5) Ajamīḍha, (6) Jahnu. The following is one verse of this genealogy, the 3723d; अन्वया कुशिका राजन् जह्नोरमिततेजसः। "The Kuśikas were " descended from Jahnu of boundless power," and consequently from Bharata. Suhotra and Jahnu are, according to the Vishnu Purana also, among the ancestors of the Kuśikas; but Suhotra's descent is there differently traced to Amāvasu, son of Purūravas. The Harivanśa, in one place, (Sect. 32,) agrees with the Mahābhārata in making Jahnu to be a descendant of Bharata. (But see above, Sect. VII. p. 84). The passage in the Mahābhārata goes on to relate that during the reign of Samvaraṇa, son of one of Jahnu's brothers, his country was assailed by various calamities, and

This last tribe is spoken of, in hymn 33 of the seventh Mandala, (quoted above, verse 6,) as if it had been hostile to the Ṭritsus.

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being himself forced to fly before the armies of a Pānchālya, he settled on the banks of the river Sindhu (Indus). The narrative then proceeds thus: verses 3731, 3732, and 3734—6. तत्रावसन् बहून् कालान् भारता दुर्गमाश्रिताः । तेषां निवसतां तत्र सहस्रं परिवत्सरान् । अथाभ्यगच्छद् भारतान् वशिष्ठो भगवानृषिः । . . . . . तमासने चोपविष्टं राजा वव्रे स्वयं तदा । पुरोहितो भवान् नोऽस्तु राज्याय प्रयतेमहि । ओमित्येवं वशिष्ठोऽपि भारतान् प्रत्यपद्यत । अथाभ्यधिच्चत् साम्राज्ये सर्वक्षत्रस्य पौरवम् । विषाणभूतं सर्वस्यां पृथिव्यामिति नः श्रुतम् । भरताध्युषितं पूर्वं सोऽध्यतिष्ठत् पुरोत्तमम् &c. "The "Bhāratas dwelt there for a long time, taking refuge in a fortress. When "they had been there a thousand years, Vaśishṭha, the divine rishi, came "to them." . . . . . When they had paid him all due honours, "the king "elected him, sitting on a seat, saying, 'Be thou our family-priest, and "let us strive to [regain] our kingdom.' Vaśishtha, by uttering the sacred "monosyllable *om*, assented to this relation with the Bharatas, and installed "the Paurava (Samvaraṇa) as monarch over the whole Kshatriya race, to be "a horn to [have mastery] over the whole earth. In consequence, Samva-"raṇa acquired possession of the city formerly occupied by the Bharatas, "&c." It does not, however, follow from this legend, that Vaśishṭha was really the priest of the Bharatas. The whole story may have been invented for the glorification of that ṛishi.

In the 23rd hymn of the 3d Book of the Rig Veda, verse 2, Dēvaśravas and Devavāta, two sons of Bharata, are thus alluded to: "The two Bhā-"ratas, Devaśravas and Devavāta, have produced by friction the wealthy "and powerful Agni, &c." अमन्थिष्टां भरता रेवदग्निं देवश्रवा देववातः सुदक्षम् ॥ In the Harivansa, Sect. 27, verse 1461, Devaśravas is stated to be one of the sons of Viśwāmitra: विश्वामित्रस्य च सुता देवरातादयः स्मृताः । विख्यातास्त्रिषु लोकेषु तेषां नामानि मे शृणु । देवश्रवाः कतिश्चैव यस्मात् कात्यायनाः स्मृताः । "The sons of Viśwāmitra are reputed to be "Devarāta and the rest, who are famous throughout the three worlds. "Hear their names from me: Devaśravas and Kăti, from whom the Kātyā-"yănas derive their name, &c." Some notices of Bharata and his race, by Prof. Weber, are to be found in his Indische Studien, I. 198 et seqq. Reference is there made to the Mahābhārata, I. 3121, and to the Śatapatha Brāhmana, XIII. 5. 4. 11—14; (p. 995 of Weber's edition;) in both of which places a great sacrifice is declared to have been celebrated by Bharata. The former passage is as follows: याजयामास तं कण्वो विधिवद् भूरिदक्षिणम् ।

Though the Vedic hymns which have been quoted appear to testify clearly to the influence which both Vasishṭha and Viśwāmitra enjoyed at the court of Sudās, it would be very difficult to form, from the imperfect materials which they supply, any clear conception of the course which the contest between these two rivals took; or the periods of time when they respectively enjoyed the king's favour. It is evident that they could not both have been employed as his family-priests at one and the same time. Roth is of opinion (p. 122) that some light is thrown on this subject by the 53d hymn of the 3d Mandala. This composition, he considers, contains fragments of hymns by Viśwāmitra or his descendants, belonging to different dates; and the verses (9—13) in which that ṛishi represents himself and the

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श्रीमान् गोवितनं नाम वाजिमेधमवाप सः। यस्मिन् सहस्रं पद्मानां कण्वाय भरतो ददौ। "Kaṇwa offered sacrifice in due form for this very liberal and power-" ful prince; who attained to the horse-sacrifice called *gōvitana*. On this oc-" casion Bharata gave Kaṇwa a thousand *pădmăs* (one padma=ten billions!) " [of gold, or cows?]." From the passage above cited in this note it will be seen that Bharata's descendants are recorded to have afterwards adopted Vaśishṭha as their priest. One of the ancient verses (*gāthā*) quoted in the Śatapatha Brahmana, in the passage just referred to, is the following: महदद्य भरतस्य न पूर्वे नापरे जनाः। दिवं मर्त्य इव बाहुभ्यां नोदापुः पञ्च मानवाः। "This great " work of *Bharata* has not been equalled by the *five classes of men*, whether " of earlier or later times; as no mortal has reached heaven with his arms." After alluding to another sacrifice of Śatānīka, a descendant of Bharata, the Śatapatha Brahmana, a little further on, (XIII. 5. 4. 23,) gives us another similar *gāthā*: महदद्य भरतानां न पूर्वे नापरे जनाः। दिवं मर्त्य इव पक्षाभ्यां नोदापुः सप्त मानवाः। "This great work of *the Bharatas* has not been equalled " by the *seven classes of men*, whether of earlier," &c. &c. Weber compares the word *păncha mānăvās*, or *five classes of men*, with the similar Vedic expression *pancha jănās*, (which Kuhn had previously connected with the five races of the Punjab indicated by Roth, Litt. und Gesch. des Weda, pp. 131, 132,) and thinks it may be referable to the Panchālas; as the other phrase, the *seven men*, may, he conjectures, signify the Kurus and Panchālas. On the sense of the word *bhărăta* see Weber's note to Indische Studien, I. 200, where the Śatapatha Brāhmana and the Nighantu are referred to. In the former work, I. 5. 1. 8, it is said: एष हि देवेभ्यो हव्यं भरति तस्माद् भरतोऽग्निरित्याहुः। "Fire is called *bhărăta*, they say, because it carries the " sacrifice to the gods." In the Nighantu, 3. 18, *bhărăta* is given as a synonym of *ṛitwij*, a priest.

Kauśikas as being the priests of Sudās, are, in his opinion, earlier in date than the concluding portion (verses 21—24), which contains the imprecation on Vasishṭha. These last verses, he remarks, appear to threaten vengeance against an enemy who had come into possession of some power or dignity which Viśwāmitra had previously enjoyed. And as we find from one of his hymns, (the 53d,) that he and his adherents had at one time led Sudās to victory, and enjoyed a corresponding consideration; while from Vasishṭha's hymns it is clear that he and his family also had been elevated in consequence of similar claims to a similar position;—it would seem to result that Viśwāmitra had cursed Vasishṭha for this very reason, that he had supplanted him. It is, at the same time, evident from later tradition that Vasishṭha and his family had not always been the objects of Sudās's favour; but had, on the contrary, been, at some time or other, sufferers from his enmity, or that of his house. The alienation which gave rise to this ill treatment was, however, as Roth thinks, merely temporary (p. 124). Weber, in a note to p. 120 of the Indische Studien, expresses a different opinion. "The testimonies," he says, "adduced by Roth, pp. 122, &c., according "to which Sudās appears in the Epic age as hostile to Brahmanical in- "terests, stand in opposition to his assertion that Vasishṭha's family finally "expelled Viśwāmitra's family from the court of Sudās. The hostility "between the latter and Vasishṭha, the prototype of Brahmanhood, is thus "not merely of temporary duration, but the contrary." The passages which support Weber's view of the permanent hostility of Sudās to the sacerdotal interest are those cited above from Manu, VII. 41, (Sect. I. p. 58,) and from the Mahābhārata, the Kaushitakī Brahmana, and the Anukramanī, in the text and notes of Section XV, (pp. 114, 115). If Sudās became ultimately reconciled to Vasishṭha, and reinstated him and his descendants in the position of his own domestic priests, to the exclusion of the rival family of Viśwāmitra, it seems hard to understand how that prince's name was handed down by tradition as one of the most prominent examples of impiety as displayed in resistance to priestly pretensions. On the other hand, it is to be observed that if the texts which have been cited above from the Rig Veda, (pp. 132—134,) in allusion to Sudās's deliverance by the gods, refer to a real person, and to the same person with whom we are at present concerned,—they are difficult to reconcile with these traditions of the Brāhmaṇas and Puranas; inasmuch as they imply that he was a pious prince, who worshipped the gods in the way prescribed by the priests: for the latter would not otherwise have celebrated him, in their hymns, as an object of the divine favour.[63] Tradition, too, as we have seen, (above, 134,) represents

[63] In the Anuśāsana Parva of the Mahābhārata, Sect. 78, there is a

Sudās himself to have been the author of a Vedic hymn. The 104th hymn, which I have quoted above, (p. 132,) but to which Roth makes no allusion, does not appear to contribute any further aids for the solution of this question. Assuming that some verses of that hymn contain a curse aimed at Viśwāmitra, still we have no means of ascertaining when they were uttered; whether during the time of the speaker's ascendancy, or during that of his rival; and whether this hymn precedes, or follows, the others in date.

The recognised prerogatives of the several castes in the developed system of Hinduism, as expounded by Manu, are as follows: the Brahman's functions are "to read, and teach, the Veda, to sacrifice, and to officiate as priest "at the sacrifices of others, to give, and to receive gifts. The Kshatriya's "duty is to protect the people, to give gifts, to sacrifice, to study the Veda, "and to abstain from devotion to sensible objects."[64] The Vaiśya is per-

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conversation between Vaśishṭha and Saudāsa (a descendant of Sudās) about the preeminent purity and excellence of cows, verses 3732—4: एतस्मिन्नेव काले तु वशिष्ठम् ऋषिसत्तमम् । इक्ष्वाकुवंशजो राजा सौदासो वदतां वरः । सर्वलोकचरं सिद्धं ब्रह्मकोशं सनातनम् । पुरोहितमभिप्रष्टुमभिवाद्योपचक्रमे । सौदास उवाच । त्रैलोक्ये भगवन् किंस्वित् पवित्रं कथ्यतेऽनघ । यत् कीर्त्तयन् सदा मर्त्यः प्राप्नुयात् पुण्यमुत्तमम् । "At this time the eloquent king Saudāsa, of "the race of Ikshwāku, proceeded, after salutations, to make an enquiry of "his *purohita* Vaśishṭha, the most excellent of ṛishis, who had attained "perfection, who was able to traverse all the worlds, and was an eternal "treasure of sacred knowledge: Saudāsa says; 'What, o sinless man, is "declared to be the purest thing in the three worlds, by constantly cele-"brating which a man may acquire the highest merit?'" Vaśishṭha in reply expatiates at great length on the merit resulting from bestowing cows.

The sequel is thus told in verse 3801: वरमिदमिति भूमिदो (भूमिपो?) विचिन्त्य प्रवरमृषेर्वचनं ततो महात्मा । व्यसृजत नियतात्मवान् द्विजेभ्यः सुबहु च गोधनमाप्नवांश्च लोकान् । "The magnanimous, self-subduing king, consi-"dering that these words of the ṛishi were most excellent, lavished on the "Brahmans great wealth in the shape of cows, and attained to the heavens." Here we are told that *Saudāsa*, the descendant of Sudās, was liberal to Brahmans, and went to heaven. This, however, would prove nothing in regard to Sudās himself.

[64] Manu, I. 88—90. अध्यापनमध्ययनं यजनं याजनं तथा । दानं प्रतिग्रहश्चैव ब्राह्मणानामकल्पयत् ॥ प्रजानां रक्षणं दानमिज्याऽध्ययनमेव च । विषयेष्वप्रसक्तिश्च क्षत्रियस्य समासतः ॥ पशूनां रक्षणं दानमिज्याऽध्ययनमेव च ॥ वणिक्पथं कुसीदञ्च वैश्यस्य कृषिमेव च ॥ See also the Yajṇaparibhāshā

mitted, among his other functions, to sacrifice, and to study the Veda. In later times, therefore, the priesthood, properly so called, was confined to

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Sutras, translated by Müller, pp. XLIII et seqq. at the end of the 9th Vol. of the Journal of the German Oriental Society. It is there declared, Sūtra 2d, that sacrifice "is proper to the three classes, the Brahman, Rājanya, and "also the Vaiśya." And yet it is said in the Śatapatha Brahmana, V. 5. 4. 9, there quoted; चत्वारो वै वर्णाः ब्राह्मणो राजन्यो वैश्यः शूद्रो न ह्येतेषामेकश्चन भवति यः सोमं वमति। "There are four classes (colours), the Brah- "man, Rājanya, Vaiśya, and Śūdra, none of whom vomit the Soma." In the 21st *Sūtra*, translated by Müller, (p. XLVII,) it is said that "the priestly "dignity belongs to the Brahmans:" and it is laid down by the Indian authorities that even when the sacrifice is of a kind intended solely for Kshatriyas, the priest must still be a Brahman. It appears from Arrian that the Greeks were correctly informed of this prerogative of the Brahmans. He says, (Indica, ch. XI,) "Whoever sacrifices privately must have "one of these sophists" (so the priestly caste is here designated) "as "director of the ceremony, as sacrifice could not otherwise be acceptably "offered to the gods." Καὶ ὅστις δὲ ἰδίᾳ θύει, ἐξηγητὴς αὐτῷ τῆς θυσίης τῶν τις σοφιστῶν τούτων γίνεται, ὡς οὐκ ἂν ἄλλως κεχαρισμένα τοῖς θεοῖς θύσαντας. Arrian (ibid. XII) makes another assertion, which, as applied to the times of which he wrote, is not equally correct. It is, "that *it is permitted to a person of any caste to become a* "*sophist*, the life of that class being by no means easy, but the most "laborious of all:" Μοῦνον σφίσιν ἀνεῖται, σοφιστὴν ἐκ παντὸς γένεος γενέσθαι· ὅτι οὐ μαλθακὰ τοῖσι σοφιστῇσιν εἰσὶ τὰ πρήγματα, ἀλλὰ πάντων ταλαιπωρότατα. However indubitably true the first part of this sentence may have been in the age of Viśwāmitra, it cannot be correctly predicated of the period when Alexander the Great visited India. The mistake may have arisen from confounding the Buddhists with the Brahmans. The writer can scarcely have applied the word *sophist* to the *Buddhist* devotees, as Buddha prohibited sacrifice.

In the Kātīya Sūtras the curious question (one of those which the Indian authors often think it necessary to raise and to settle, in order that their treatment of a subject may be complete and exhaustive) is argued, whether the lower animals, and the gods, have any share in Vedic observances; or whether they are confined to men. It is stated, as a presumption in favour of the right of the lower animals, that they seek to enjoy pleasure, and avoid pain, and even appear to vindicate their desire for the happiness of another world

the Brahmans. It is quite clear, however, from the quotations made above from the hymns in the third Book of the Rig Veda, as well as from the Nirukta, that in the Vedic era the case was quite different. Viśwāmitra, a Rājanya, (or scion of a kingly family,) officiated as family-priest for king Sudās, and performed the most sacred rites of religion, as well as the professional priest Vasishṭha. And not only so, but we also find that the most ancient, as well as all subsequent, Hindu tradition, (as embodied in the Anukramanī, and the Nirukta, and in the other sources to which the commentator Sāyaṇa had access,) distinctly assigns to Viśwāmitra and his family the almost exclusive authorship of the hymns contained in the third Book of the Rig Veda, including the holiest of all the Vedic texts, the ineffable gāyatrī itself.[65] This testimony of antiquity is, as we have seen, supported by the internal evidence of several of those hymns themselves.

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by observing some of the Vedic prescriptions: "Some have said, from a dog "having been noticed to fast on the fourteenth day of the month, and a hawk "on the eighth, that they have a conception of another life. But how is it "understood that these dogs and hawks fast from religious motives? seeing "that it is only those who read the Vedas, Smritis, Puranas, &c. who know "that such and such observances will be followed by such and such rewards "in a future state; whereas these animals neither read the sacred books, nor "ascertain their contents from others; and cannot, therefore, desire future "rewards, or observe those rites which are the means of attaining them. "Hence they do not fast from religious motives. Why then, it may be asked, "*do* they fast? We reply, because from sickness they have a distaste for food. "But how do they happen to be sick on the fixed days of fasting? We "answer, diseases also occur on fixed days, like tertian and quartan agues." ननूक्तं शुनश्चतुर्दश्यामुपवासदर्शनात् श्येनस्य चाष्टम्यामुपवासदर्शनाच्च तेऽपि पारलौकिकं जानन्तीति। तत् कथमवगम्यते एते धर्मार्थमुपवसन्तीति। ये हि वेदस्मृतिपुराणादिकं पठन्ति त एव जानन्ति यदनेन कर्मणा इदं फलमुत्र प्राप्स्यत इति। न चैते वेदादिकं पठन्ति नाप्यन्येभ्य आगमयन्ति। तेन शास्त्रार्थमविद्वांसः फलमामुष्मिकमकामयन्तः कथं तत्साधनं कर्म कुर्युः। तस्मान्न धर्मार्थमुपवसन्तीति। किमर्थं तर्ह्येतेषामुपवासः। उच्यते रोगादरुचिरेषाम्। तर्हि नियतकाले कथं रोगः। उच्यते नियतकाला अपि रोगा भवन्ति यथा तृतीयकचातुर्थिकादिज्वराः॥

[65] This text forms the 10th verse of the 62d hymn of the third Mandala, and is ascribed to Viśwāmitra as its seer by Sāyaṇa, who says: कृत्स्नस्य विश्वामित्र ऋषिरन्यस्य तृचस्य जमदग्निर्वा। "Viśwāmitra is the ṛishi of the

When, in later ages, the belief grew up that the Brahmans were a separate class, which alone possessed a properly sacerdotal character, and when it had become quite inconceivable in the popular view that any other class could ever have shared in that character, it was found necessary to discover some explanation for the singular fact that, at one time, a person reputed to be of a Kshatriya stock had, equally with Vasishṭha, the subsequently recognised representative of Brahmanhood,[66] exercised priestly functions. This explanation was easily supplied by the principle so continually brought forward, and exemplified, in Hindu mythology, that by the exercise of devotion (*tăpăs*) the ascetic had power to exalt himself to any height of perfection, and to extort from the deities any dignity on which he might have set his heart. The great dignity of the Brahmanical order is indicated by the protracted duration, and strenuous character of the struggles which Viśwāmitra made, according to the Rāmāyaṇa, to effect his elevation into its ranks. In a remarkable passage of Manu, which I have cited below, the wonderful virtues of this *devotion* are celebrated.[67]

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"whole hymn; or Jamadagni, of the last three stanzas," viz. the 16th, 17th, and 18th. The gāyatrī is as follows: तत् सवितुर्वरेण्यं भर्गो देवस्य धीमहि । धियो यो नः प्रचोदयात् । which Wilson (Rig Veda, III. p. 110) renders: "We meditate on that desirable light of the divine Savitṛi, who "influences our pious rites." The verse recurs in the Yajur Veda, as well as in the Sāma Veda; where Prof. Benfey renders it (pp. 276, 277); "May "we receive this glorious brilliancy of the generator, of the god, who shall "further our rites."

Viśwāmitra is by no means the only Kshatriya to whom Vedic hymns are assigned as their ṛishi or seer. See above, Chap. II. Sect. II. pp. 50 and 54, where the cases of Gritsamada, Kaṇwa, and Medhātithi are specified. The case of Sudās is alluded to in the text, p. 134.

[66] Mahābhārata, Śānti Parva, verse 4499. वशिष्ठमीशं विप्राणाम् । "Va- "śishṭha the lord of the Brahmans," i. e. in the same way that Indra is styled "king of the gods," &c.

[67] Manu, XI. 234—244. तपोमूलमिदं सर्वं दैवमानुषकं सुखम् । तपोमध्यं बुधैः प्रोक्तं तपोऽन्तं वेददर्शिभिः ॥ ब्राह्मणस्य तपो ज्ञानं तपः क्षत्रस्य रक्षणम् । वैश्यस्य तु तपो वार्त्ता तपः शूद्रस्य सेवनम् ॥ ऋषयः संयतात्मानः फलमूलानिलाशनाः । तपसैव प्रपश्यन्ति त्रैलोक्यं सचराचरम् ॥ औषधान्यगदो विद्या दैवी च विविधा स्थितिः । तपसैव प्रसिद्ध्यन्ति तपस्तेषां हि साधनम् ॥ यद् दुस्तरं यद् दुरापं यद् दुर्गं यच्च दुष्करम् । सर्वन्तु तपसा साध्यं तपो हि दुरतिक्रमम् ॥ महापातकिनश्चैव शेषाश्चाकार्य्यकारिणः । तपसैव सुतप्तेन मुच्यन्ते किल्बिषात्

Brahmanical tradition relates the downfal of all the other personages who had dared to oppose the pretensions of the sacerdotal tribe. Veṇa, Nahusha, Sudās, Sumukha, and Nimi, all, as Manu tells us, (VII. 41,) perished from their want of deference to the Brahmans; while to Viś-

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ततः ॥ कीटाश्चाहिपतङ्गाश्च पशवश्च वयांसि च । स्थावराणि च भूतानि दिवं यान्ति तपोबलात् ॥ यत्किञ्चिदेनः कुर्वन्ति मनोवाङ्मूर्त्तिभिर्जनाः । तत्सर्वं निर्दहन्त्याशु तपसैव तपोधनाः ॥ तपसैव विशुद्धस्य ब्राह्मणस्य दिवौकसः । इज्याश्च प्रतिगृह्णन्ति कामान् संवर्द्धयन्ति च ॥ प्रजापतिरिदं शास्त्रं तपसैवासृजत् प्रभुः । तथैव वेदानृषयस्तपसा प्रतिपेदिरे ॥ इत्येतत् तपसो देवा महाभाग्यं प्रचक्षते । सर्वस्यास्य प्रपश्यन्तस्तपसः पुण्यमुत्तमम् ॥ "(234) All the enjoyment of gods " and men has its source, its centre, and its end in devotion: so is it said " by the wise who understand the Veda. (235) Knowledge is a Brahman's " devotion; protection that of a Kshatriya; traffic that of a Vaiśya; service " that of a Śūdra. (236) It is by devotion that Ṛishis of subdued minds, " living on fruits, roots, and air, behold the three worlds, with all things " moving and stationary. (237) Medicines, health, knowledge, and the " various divine conditions, are attained by devotion alone, as their means. " (238) Whatever is hard to be traversed, or obtained, or reached, or per- " formed, may all be accomplished through devotion, of which the force is " irresistible. (239) Great sinners too, and all other transgressors, become " freed from sin by intense devotion. (240) Worms, serpents, grasshoppers, " beasts, birds, and stationary objects, attain to heaven through the power " of devotion. (241) Whatever sin men commit by thought, word, or " bodily acts; by devotion they speedily consume it all, when they become " rich in devotion. (242) When a Brahman has become purified by devo- " tion, the gods accept his offerings, and augment his enjoyments. (243) *It* " *was by devotion that Brahmā, the lord, created this code; and by devotion* " *that the Ṛishis obtained the Vedas.* (244) Such is the great dignity which " the gods ascribe to devotion, beholding its transcendent merit." Part of Kullūka's comment on verse 238, in illustration of the words "hard to be " obtained," is as follows: यद् दुःखेन प्राप्यते क्षत्रियादिना यथा विश्वामित्रेण तेनैव शरीरेण ब्राह्मण्यादि । "Whatever is hard to be obtained by Kshatriyas " &c. as Brahmanhood &c. in the same body by Viśwāmitra."

To the same effect the Bhāgavata Purana (IX. 16. 28) says, "From Gādhi " was descended that glorious son, like flaming fire, who by devotion " abandoned the estate of a Kshatriya, and acquired the lustre of Brah- " manhood:" गाधेरभूद् महातेजाः समिद्ध इव पावकः । तपसा क्षात्रमुत्सृज्य यो लेभे ब्रह्मवर्चसम् ॥

wāmitra, who pursued precisely the same course, an opposite character and fate are ascribed. "By humility," we are informed, (Manu, VII. 42,) "he attained to Brahmanhood." The different modes in which these very similar cases are treated must have arisen from the fact that Viśwāmitra was in reality a remarkable personage; and that his exercise of priestly functions, and his character as one of the Vedic bards, were so notorious in the ages succeeding that in which he lived, and so rooted in all subsequent tradition, that it became impossible to deny that he had been one of the most eminent saints of former times. As the facts of the case grew indistinct in the distance of antiquity, and as a sacred halo gradually gathered round the name and character of Brahman, it may be conceived that the Kuśikas would not be averse to foster the belief that their progenitor had possessed supernatural powers, and had by this means actually effected his elevation to the superior caste, of which they themselves, too, as his descendants, would now be regarded as members.

The result of the conflict between Vasishṭha and Viśwāmitra, or rather of the regal and priestly interests which they represented, is thus described by Roth (Zur Litt. und Gesch. des Weda, p. 141): "Vasishṭha, in whom the "future position of the Brahmans is principally foreshadowed, is also placed "far higher in the recollections of the succeeding centuries than his martial "rival; and the latter succumbs in the contest out of which the holy race "of Brahmāvărtta was to emerge. Vasishṭha is the sacerdotal hero of the "new order of things. In Viśwāmitra the ancient condition of military "shepherd-life in the Punjab is thrown back for ever into the past. This "is the general signification of the conflict between the two Vedic families, "of which the literature of all the subsequent periods has preserved the "recollection."

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Another case, in addition to that of Viśwāmitra, in which a Kshatriya is distinctly recorded to have exercised sacerdotal functions, viz. that of Devāpi, may as well be introduced here. Of him Yāska states in the Nirukta, II. 10: "They here relate a story. Devāpi, son of Ṛishṭisheṇa, "and S'ăntanu were brothers, of the race of Kuru. S'antanu, the younger, "was inaugurated as king, while Devāpi betook himself to devotion. Sub-"sequently, during S'antanu's reign, the god (Indra) sent no rain for twelve "years. The Brahmans then addressed S'antanu thus: 'Thou hast been "guilty of unrighteousness in that, passing over thy eldest brother, thou "hast caused thyself to be installed as king. It is for this cause that the "god withholds rain.' S'antanu then proposed to invest Devāpi with the "kingly authority; but the latter said to him, '*Let me be thy purohita,*

" *and perform sacrifice for thee.*' This hymn, expressing a desire for rain, " is his. The following *ṛich* is taken from it." [68] Yāska then quotes a part of the 98th hymn of the Rig Veda, Book X, which in the Anukramanī also is assigned to Devāpi as its ṛishi. The first nine verses are as follows : " (1) O Bṛihaspati, come to my worship of the gods [?];—whether thou art " Mitra, or Varuṇa, or Pūshan, and attended by the Adityas, or Vasus, or " Maruts. Cause Parjanya to send rain to S'ăntanu. (2) O Devāpi, may the " god, a rapid and intelligent messenger, come from thee to me. Advance " towards me. I have a brilliant hymn for thee in my mouth. (3) Accept, " o Bṛihaspati, this brilliant, powerful, and spirited hymn which is in our " mouths; by which I implore rain for S'antanu; and the honied drop has " descended from the sky. (4) May those honied drops come down upon " us: o Indra, give us a thousand waggon-loads. Fulfil, o Devāpi, thy " sacerdotal functions; at the proper time offer the sacrifice; honour the " gods with an oblation. (5) The ṛishi Devāpi, son of Ṛishṭishēna, per- " forming the sacrifice, and skilled in celebrating the gods, has let loose " the showers of rain from the upper to the lower ocean. (6) The waters " were shut up by the gods in the upper ocean: when let loose by Devāpi, " the son of Ṛishtisheṇa, they were discharged on the plains. (7) When " Devāpi the *purohita* of [or put forward by] S'antanu, chosen to perform " the sacrifice, sang praises, and kindled [the fire]; then the gods listened " to him, when he supplicated rain, and Vrihaspati, favouring, granted him " a voice. (8) O Agni, whom the brilliant Devāpi, son of Ṛishtishēna, and " descendant of Manu, has kindled, do thou, celebrated along with the other " gods, send to us the rain-bearing Parjanya. (9) Former ṛishis have approached " thee with their hymns, and all men approach thee, o thou much-invoked god, " in their sacrifices. Give us thousands of waggon-loads: approach, o thou " who art borne by red coursers, to our sacrifice." [69] See Roth's Nirukta,

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[68] तत्रेतिहासमाचक्षते देवापिश्चार्ष्टिषेणः शन्तनुश्च कौरव्यौ भ्रातरौ बभूवतुः स शन्तनुः कनीयान् अभिषेचयाञ्चक्रे देवापिस्तपः प्रतिपेदे । ततः शन्तनो राज्ये द्वादश वर्षाणि देवो न ववर्ष । तमूचुर्ब्राह्मणा अधर्मस्त्वया चरितो ज्येष्ठं भ्रातरम् अनतिक्रम्याभिषेचितं तस्मात् ते देवो न वर्षतीति । स शन्तनुर्देवापिं शिशिक्ष राज्येन । तमुवाच देवापिः पुरोहितस्तेऽस्तानि याजयानि च त्वेति । तस्यैतद्वर्षकामसूक्तं तस्यैषा भवति ॥

[69] Rig Veda, X. 98. 1—9. बृहस्पते प्रति मे देवतामिहि मित्रो वा यद् वरुणो वा असि पूषा । आदित्यैर्वा यद् वसुभिर्मरुत्वान् स पर्जन्यं शन्तनवे वृषय ॥१॥ आ देवो यातु अजिरश्चिकित्वान् त्वद् देवापे अभि नामगच्छत् । प्रतीचीनः प्रति माम् आ ववृत्स्व दधामि ते द्युमतीं वाचम् आसन् ॥२॥ अस्मे

Erläut. p. 20; Lassen, Ind. Alt. I. 596 and 802, and appendix, p. xxv; Weber's Ind. St. I. 203; and Langlois's French translation of the Rig Veda, IV. pp. 362, 363. The last named writer supposes (ibid. note 22, p. 502) that this hymn (as well as the Purusha Sūkta) is very much posterior in date to the other hymns of the Rig Veda. The names of Devāpi and S'antanu indicate, he thinks, an age not far remote from that of the great war of the Mahābhārata. Prof. Weber, however, considers that the S'āntanu and Devāpi mentioned in the Mahābhārata (Adi Parva, verses 3750—1) cannot have been the same as those mentioned in the Rig Veda, because their father was Prātīpa, not Rishṭishēna; and because he regards it as doubtful whether a prince who preceded the Pāṇḍavas by only two generations could have been named in the Rig Veda, and appear there as the author of hymns.

The Vishnu Purana (Book IV. 20. 7, Wilson, pp. 457, 458) makes Devāpi and S'antanu to be sons of Pratīpa, and descendants of Kuru, and his son Jahnu. It repeats the legend given in the Nirukta, with many modifications; but the main incidents in the two narratives are so similar, that it would appear to have been the intention of the compiler of the Vish. Pur. to identify the Devāpi and S'āntanu whose fortunes he records with the persons of the same name, but of different parentage, mentioned in the Nirukta. He may thus have transferred an older legend to more recent personages. The version in the Vishnu Purana is as follows: "Devāpi, "when yet very young, retired to the forest; and S'āntanu became king. "This verse is commonly recited regarding him: 'The decrepit man "whom he touches with his hands becomes young. He is called S'ān-

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धेहि द्युमतीं वाचम् आसन् बृहस्पते अनमीवाम् इषिराम् । यया वृष्टिं शन्तनवे वनाव दिवो द्रप्सो मधुमान् आ विवेश ॥ ३ ॥ आ न द्रप्साः मधुमन्तो विशन्तु इन्द्र देहि अधिरथं सहस्रम् । निषीद होत्रम् ऋतुथा यजस्व देवान् देवापे हविषा सपर्य ॥ ४ ॥ आर्ष्टिषेणो होत्रम् ऋषिर्निषीदन् देवापिर्देवसुमतिं चिकित्वान् । स उत्तरस्माद् अधरं समुद्रम् अपो दिव्या असृजद् वर्ष्या ॥ ५ ॥ अभ्यस्मिन् समुद्रे अध्युत्तरस्मिन् आपो देवेभिर्निवृता अतिष्ठन् । ता अद्रवन् आर्ष्टिषेणेन सृष्टा देवापिना प्रेषिता मृक्षिणीषु ॥ ६ ॥ यद् देवापिः शन्तनवे पुरोहितो होत्राय वृतः कृपयन्नदीधेत् । देवश्रुतं वृष्टिवनिं रराणो बृहस्पतिर्वाचमस्माययच्छत् ॥ ७ ॥ यं त्वा देवापिः शुशुचानो अग्ने आर्ष्टिषेणो मनुष्यः समीधे । विश्वेभिर्देवैरनुमद्यमानः प्र पर्जन्यमीरय वृष्टिमन्तम् ॥ ८ ॥ त्वां पूर्वे ऋषयो गीर्भिरायन् त्वामध्वरेषु पुरुहूत विश्वे । महस्राण्यधिरथान्यस्मे आ नो यज्ञं रोहिताश्वोपयाहि ॥ ९ ॥

In translating these verses I have had the French version of M. Langlois, the dictionary of Böhtlingk and Roth, and Benfey's glossary to assist me, but I have not had access to Sāyaṇa's Commentary.

"tanu, from the acts through which supreme tranquillity is attained.' "The god did not rain on the dominions of this S'āntanu for twelve "years. Beholding then the ruin of his country, the king enquired of "the Brahmans: 'What is the reason why the god does not rain upon "this kingdom? what is my offence?' The Brahmans replied: 'The "earth, which is the right of thy brother, is enjoyed by thee; thou hast "become wedded before thy elder brother.' He again enquired of them: "'What must I do?' They answered: 'Until Devāpi succumbs to "apostasy and other offences, the kingdom belongs to him: and to him "let it at once be restored.' When they had so said, the king's principal "minister, Aśmasārī, sent into the forest certain ascetics holding doctrines "opposed to those of the Vedas; who induced the very simple-minded "prince (Devāpi) to embrace a system at variance with these sacred books. "King S'āntanu, however, being much distressed in consequence of what "the Brahmans had said to him, sent them on before, and then proceeded "himself to the forest to restore the kingdom to his elder brother. The "Brahmans arrived at the hermitage of the prince Devāpi; and ad- "dressed to him arguments founded on the Vedas, to the effect that the "royal authority should be exercised by the elder brother. He, however, "in his reply said much that was vitiated by reasonings contrary to the "sense of the Vedas. The Brahmans then said to S'āntanu: 'Come "hither, o king. There is no occasion for any further anxiety. The calamity "of the drought [or, the offence which has occasioned the drought] is "removed. Your brother has fallen by uttering a contradiction of the "Vedas which have been revered from the beginning of all things: and "when the elder brother is fallen, the younger incurs no guilt by marrying "before him.' S'āntanu, on hearing this, returned to his capital, and "exercised the royal authority. And although his elder brother Devāpi "was degraded by uttering words opposed to the doctrines of the Veda, "the divine Parjanya (Indra) rained in order to produce a harvest of all "sorts of grain."[70]

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[70] Vish. Pur. IV. 20. 4—9. देवापिर्बाल एवारण्यां विवेश शान्तनुरवनी-पतिरभवत् । अयच्च तस्य श्लोकः पृथिव्यां गीयते । यं यं कराभ्यां स्पृशति जीर्णं यौवनमेति सः । शान्तिञ्चाप्नोति येनाग्र्यां कर्मणा तेन शान्तनुः । तस्य शान्तनो राष्ट्रे द्वादश वर्षाणि देवो न ववर्ष । ततश्चाशेषराष्ट्रविनाशमवेक्ष्यासौ राजा ब्राह्म-णानपृच्छद् भोः कस्मादस्मिन् राष्ट्रे देवो न वर्षति को ममापराध इति । ते तमूचुः । अग्रजस्य तेऽहो इयमवनिस्त्वया भुज्यते परिवेत्ता त्वमित्युक्तः स पुनस्तानपृच्छत् किं मया विधेयमिति । तेन तमूचुर्यावद् देवापिर्न पतनादिभिर्दोषैरभिभूयते तावत्

The same story is briefly told in the Bhāgavāta Purana, IX. 22. 14—17. The fact of Devāpi being the reputed author of one of the hymns of the

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तस्माहं राज्यं तदलमेतेन तस्मै दीयतामित्युक्ते तस्य मन्त्रिप्रवरेणाश्मसारिणा तत्त्वारण्ये तपस्विनो वेदवादविरोधवक्तारः प्रयोजिताः । तैरति ऋजुमतेर्महीपतिपुत्रस्य बुद्धिर्वेदविरोधमार्गानुसारिण्यक्रियत । राजा च शान्तनुर्द्विजवचनोत्पन्नपरिवेदनशोकस्तान् ब्राह्मणान्ग्रणीकृत्याग्रजराज्यप्रदानायारण्यं जगाम । तदाश्रममुपगताश्च तमवनीपतिपुत्रं देवापिमुपतस्थुः । ते ब्राह्मणा वेदवादानुवृद्धानि वचांसि राज्यमग्रजेन कर्त्तव्यमित्यर्थवन्ति तमूचुः । असावपि वेदवादविरोधयुक्तिदूषितमनेकप्रकारं तानाह । ततस्ते ब्राह्मणाः शान्तनुमूचुः । आगच्छ भो राजन्बलमत्रातिनिर्बन्धेन प्रशास्त एवासावनावृष्टिदोषः । पतितोऽयमनादिकालमहितवेदवचनदूषणोच्चारणात् । पतिते चाग्रजे नैव पारिवेद्यं भवतीत्युक्तः शान्तनुः स्वपुरमागत्य राज्यमकरोत् । वेदवादविरोधिवचनोच्चारणदूषिते च ज्येष्ठेऽस्मिन् भ्रातरि तिष्ठत्यपि देवापावखिलसस्यनिष्पत्तये ववर्ष भगवान् पर्जन्यः ॥ The Matsya Purana adds, as we are informed by Professor Wilson, (note, p. 458,) that Devāpi, in addition to his heresy, "was also leprous; on which account his subjects "contemned him." In the Udyoga Parva of the Mahābhārata, verses 5054 et seqq., Devāpi's exclusion from the throne is ascribed solely to his being a leper. देवापिस्तु महातेजास्त्वग्दोषी राजसत्तमः । धार्मिकः सत्यवादी च पितुः शुश्रूषणे रतः । पौरजानपदानाञ्च सम्मतः साधुसत्कृतः । सर्वेषां बालवृद्धानां देवापिर्हृदयङ्गमः । वदान्यः सत्यसन्धश्च सर्वभूतहिते रतः । वर्त्तमानः पितुः शास्त्रे ब्राह्मणानां तथैव च । "But the glorious Devāpi was a leper, though the "most excellent of kings, righteous, true, and obedient to his father. He "was esteemed by the inhabitants both of town and country, and honoured by "the good, beloved by all both young and old, eloquent, honest, devoted to the "welfare of all creatures, conforming to the ordinances of his father and of the "Brahmans." The king his father grew old, and was making preparations for the investiture of his successor: तं ब्राह्मणाश्च वृद्धाश्च पौरजानपदैः सह । सर्वे निवारयामासुर्देवापेरभिषेचनम् । स तच्छ्रुत्वा तु नृपतिरभिषेकनिवारणम् । अश्रुकण्ठोऽभवद् राजा पर्यशोचत चात्मजम् । एवं वदान्यो धर्मज्ञः सत्यसन्धश्च सोऽभवत् । प्रियः प्रजानामपि स त्वग्दोषेण प्रदूषितः । हीनाङ्गं पृथिवीपालं नाभिनन्दन्ति देवताः । इति कृत्वा नृपश्रेष्ठं प्रत्यषेधन् द्विजर्षभाः । ..... निवारितं नृपं दृष्ट्वा देवापिः संश्रितो वनम् । "But the Brahmans and the aged men, "with the dwellers in town and country, all restrained him from installing "Devāpi as king. The king hearing this their dissuasion, was choked "with tears, and bewailed his son's fate. Thus Devāpi was eloquent, well "acquainted with duty, honest, beloved by the people, but vitiated by leprosy.

Rig Veda, or the circumstance of his having officiated as a priest, would seem to have led the Puranic writers to invent a legend of his becoming a Brahman; for in the Śālya Parva of the Mahabharata (verses 2281 et seqq., alluded to by Weber, Indische Studien, I. p. 203) a certain place of pilgrimage, *Pṛithūdāka*, is mentioned, where Ārshtisheṇa, Devāpi, and Sindhudwīpa, as well as Viśwāmitra, are said to have become Brahmans: (Sindhudwīpa, it should be observed, was also a Kshatriya, son of Ambarīsha, and is traditionally reputed to be the ṛishi of the 9th hymn of the tenth book of the Rig Veda, some of the verses of which are also found in Rig Veda I. 23): "There the devout Arshṭisheṇa attained to Brahman-"hood by great austerity: and so did the royal ṛishi Sindhudwīpa, and "Devāpi. The divine muni Viśwāmitra, too, of great austerity and dread-"ful vigour, was raised to Brahmanhood in the same spot." [71] In verses 2287 some further particulars are given: "Formerly, o king, in the Kṛita "age, the most excellent Brahman Arshṭishēṇa dwelt constantly in his "teacher's family, devoted to study; but did not master the whole of "science or of the Vedas. Being in consequence discouraged, he betook "himself to austerity. He acquired in this way the unequalled Vedas, and "became learned and perfect. . . . At the same time, and at the same place "of pilgrimage, the glorious Sindhudwīpa, and Devāpi, attained the great "distinction of Brahmanhood." [72]

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"The Brahmans forbade the excellent king [to make Devāpi his successor], "on the ground that the gods are not pleased with a king who labours "under any corporeal defect. . . . Perceiving this obstruction to his father's "wishes, Devāpi retired to the forest."

The idea that a younger should not marry before an elder brother, is explained by Manu, III. 171, 172: दाराग्निहोत्रसंयोगं कुरुते योऽग्रजे स्थिते। परिवेत्ता स विज्ञेयः परिवित्तिस्तु पूर्वजः। परिवित्तिः परीवेत्ता यया च परिविद्यते। सर्वे ते नरकं यान्ति दातृयाजकपञ्चमाः। "He who, while his elder "brother is unwedded, marries a woman with the nuptial fires, is to be "known as a *parivēttṛi*, while his elder brother is a *parivitti*. The *pari*-"*vitti*, the *parivēttṛi*, the female so married, he who gives her away, and "fifthly, the priest, all go to hell."

[71] तत्राष्टिषेणः कौरव्य ब्राह्मण्यं संशितव्रतः। तपसा महता राजन् प्राप्तवानृषिसत्तमः। सिन्धुद्वीपश्च राजर्षिर्देवापिश्च महातपाः। ब्राह्मण्यं लब्धवान् यत्र विश्वामित्रस्तथा मुनिः। महातपस्वी भगवानुग्रतेजा महातपाः॥

[72] पुरा कृतयुगे राजन्नार्ष्टिषेणो द्विजोत्तमः। वसन् गुरुकुले नित्यं नित्यमध्ययने रतः। तस्य राजन् गुरुकुले वसतो नित्यमेव च। समाप्तिं नागमद् विद्या नापि

It will be noticed that here Ārshtisheṇa is, in opposition to the account in the Nirukta, made a different person from Devāpi.

The Harivansa alludes to another story about Devāpi: "Prātīpa was the "son of Bhīmasēna; and S'āntanu, Devāpi, and Vāhlīka were the three "chariot-driving sons of Pratīpa .... Devāpi became a Muni, the pre- "ceptor of the gods, being the adopted son of Chyavana, who loved him "greatly."[73]

The Ādi Parva of the Mahabharata merely says: "Pratīpa had three "sons, Devāpi, S'āntanu, and Vahlīka the charioteer. Of these Devāpi, "desiring religious benefit, became an ascetic, while S'āntanu and Vāhlīka "governed the earth."[74]

In another chapter (the 24th) of the fourth Book of the Vishnu Purana it is said, that "king Devāpi, of the race of Puru (in chapter 20 he is of the "race of *Kuru*), and Maru, of the family of Ikshwāku, inspired by the power "of great devotion (*yoga*), are abiding in the village of Kalāpa. Coming "hither in the [next ensuing] Krita age, they shall reestablish the Kshatriya "race, being constituted reproducers in the race of Manu. In this order "the earth is possessed by the sons of Manu throughout three ages, the "Krita, Tretā, and Dwāpara. And in the Kali certain persons continue on "the earth as seeds [of a future renewed race], as Devāpi and Maru now "exist."[75]

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वेदा विशाम्यते । स निर्विण्णस्ततो राजंस्तपस्तेपे महातपाः । ततो वै तपसा तेन प्राप्य वेदाननुत्तमान् । स विद्वान् वेदयुक्तश्च सिद्धश्चाप्यृषिसत्तमः । ..... एवं सिद्धः स भगवान् आर्ष्टिषेणः प्रतापवान् । तस्मिन्नेव तदा तीर्थे सिन्धुद्वीपः प्रतापवान् । देवापिश्च महाराज ब्राह्मण्यं प्रापतुर्महत् ॥

[73] Harivansa, lines 1819 and 1822. प्रतीपो भीमसेनात्तु प्रतीपस्य च शान्तनुः । देवापिर्वाह्लिकश्चैव त्रय एव महारथाः । ..... उपाध्यायस्तु देवानां देवापिरभवद् मुनिः । च्यवनस्य कृतः पुत्र इष्टश्चासीद् महात्मनः ॥

[74] Adi Parva, verses 3750—1. प्रतीपस्य त्रयः पुत्रा जज्ञिरे भरतर्षभ । देवापिः शान्तनुश्चैव वाह्लीकश्च महारथः । देवापिश्च प्रवव्राज तेषां धर्महितेप्सया । शान्तनुश्च महीं लेभे वाह्लीकश्च महारथः ॥

[75] Vish. Pur. IV. 24. 44—47. देवापिः पौरवो राजा मरुश्चेक्ष्वाकुवंशजः । महायोगबलोपेतौ कलापग्रामसंश्रयौ । कृते युग इहागत्य क्षत्रप्रावर्त्तकौ हि तौ । भविष्यतो मनोर्वंशे बीजभूतौ व्यवस्थितौ । एतेन क्रमयोगेन मनुपुत्रैर्वसुन्धरा । कृतत्रेतादिसंज्ञानि युगानि त्रीणि भुज्यते । कलौ तु बीजभूतास्ते केचित्तिष्ठन्ति भूतले । यथैव देवापिमरू साम्प्रतं समवस्थितौ ॥

According to the Bhāgavata Purana it is the Lunar race, destroyed in the Kali age, which Devāpi is to restore in the future Krita age. [76]

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As I have in this Section been so much occupied with the speculations of Prof. Roth, it will be convenient here to notice briefly his theory of the origin and progress of the caste-system in India. See his Litt. und Gesch. des Weda, p. 117; and his article entitled "Brahma und die Brahmanen" in the first Vol. of the Journal of the German Oriental Society, (Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft,) pp. 81—84.

In the Vedic age, he remarks, access to the gods by prayer and sacrifice was open to all classes of the community; and it was only the power of expressing devotion in a manner presumed to be acceptable to the gods, or a readiness in poetical diction, that distinguished any individual or family from the mass, and led to their being employed to lead the worship of others. The name given to such persons was *purohita*, a person *put forward*; one through whose mediation the gods would receive the offering presented. But as yet these priests had no especial sanctity, or exclusive prerogative, which would render their employment imperative. The mode in which the families of priests came to be formed into a sacred caste was, according to Roth, something like the following. He conceives that when, in an era posterior to the date of most of the Vedic hymns, the Arian tribes advanced from the Punjab, in a south easterly direction, to the banks of the Jumna and Ganges, a great revolution took place in their political condition;—the petty principalities, which had previously existed, being broken up, and the power which had formerly been distributed among many chieftains being now, after many struggles, concentrated in the hands of a few powerful princes. Such a state of things would be favourable to the usurpations of the priestly families, who, from their situation as counsellors and ministers at the different courts, would often find themselves in a position to direct the course of events, and assist particular princes in establishing their power. If to this we add the intellectual, moral, and religious influence which such men would exercise, the wealth they acquired, and their probable numbers, it is not difficult to comprehend how these domestic priests of the petty chieftains, and their families, gradually grew into powerful fraternities, who soon began to extend their interference from spiritual to temporal affairs; while, on the other hand, the descendants of the numerous chiefs sank by degrees into a nobility, which could not exert its traditional prerogatives without the advice and countenance of the priesthood. The position in which the

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[76] Bhāg. Pur. IX. 22. 17. सोमवंशे कलौ नष्टे कृतादौ स्थापयिष्यति ॥

three highest castes in the developed Brahmanical system, Brahmans, Kshatriyas, and Vaiśyas, stood to each other, was this, that they differed only in the extent of their prerogatives, the Kshatriya being in some respects less favoured than the Brahman, and the Vaisya again less favoured than the Kshatriya. See the passage from Manu, I. 88—90, quoted above, p. 138. With the fourth caste, the Śūdras, on the other hand, the case was quite different. They were not admitted to sacrifice, to the study of the Vedas, or to investiture with the sacred cord. From this Roth concludes that the three highest castes stood in a closer connection with each other, either of descent, or of culture, than any of them did to the fourth. The Indian body politic, moreover, was complete without the Śūdras. The Brahman and Kshatriya were the rulers, while the Vaiśyas formed the mass of the people. This is confirmed by their name *Vaiśya* derived from *Viś*, a word which in the Vedas designates the general community, especially considered as the possessor of the pure Arian worship and culture, in contradistinction to all barbarian races. Out of this community the priesthood arose, in the manner above described, while the Kshatriyas were the nobility descended from the chieftains of the earliest ages. The fourth caste, of the Sudras, Roth considers to have been made up of a race subdued by the Brahmanical conquerors, whether that race may have been a branch of the Arian stock which immigrated at an earlier period into India, or an autochthonous Indian tribe.

I content myself with this brief notice of Roth's ingenious theory, reserving fuller details on the subject for a subsequent part of this work.

### SECT. XVII.—*Legend of Paraśurāma and the Kshatriyas.*

The story of Paraśurāma and the Kshatriyas is briefly mentioned in the second Section of the Ādi Parva of the Mahābhārata, (verses 272—280,) where the events referred to are said to have occurred in the interval between the Tretā and Dwāpara ages.[77] The history is more fully told in three different parts of the Mahābhārata. The first is the 178th—180th Sections of the Ādi Parva. Here no mention is made of Paraśurāma, but we have the following particulars. Parāśara was son of Śaktri, and grandson of Vaśishṭha, as we have seen in Section XV. When he heard of the way in which his father had met his death, he determined to execute a general slaughter of all creatures:[78] but his grandfather restrained him by narrating

[77] Mahābhārata, Adi Parva, verses 272 et seqq. त्रेताद्वापरयोः सन्धौ रामः शस्त्रभृतां वरः । असकृत् पार्थिवं क्षत्रं जघानामर्षचोदितः । स सर्वं क्षत्रमुत्साद्य स्ववीर्येणानलद्युतिः । &c. &c.

[78] Reference is made in the commencement of the Vishnu Purāna to the

the history of the Bhṛigus and Kshatriyas, as follows: There was a king named Kṛitavīryya, by whose liberality the Bhṛigus, learned in the Vedas, who officiated as his priests, had been greatly enriched with corn and money.[79]

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same circumstance. (Wilson's Vishnu Purana, pp. 4—6.) Parāśara is the narrator of the Vishnu Purana (ibid.).

[79] Mahābhārata, Adi Parva, Sect. 178, verses 6802—3. याज्यो वेदविदां लोके भृगूणां पार्थिवर्षभः। स तानग्यभुजस्तात धान्येन च धनेन च। सोमाते तर्पयामास विपुलेन विशाम्पते॥ The name of Bhṛigu has already occurred. Manu mentions him (I. 35, see above, p. 15) as one of his own ten sons. He also speaks of him (I. 56, 60) as commissioned by himself (Manu) to promulgate his code. In Manu V. 1, however, the sage is said to be *sprung from fire;* इदमूचुर्महात्मानम् अनलप्रभवं भृगुम्॥ As he had been declared in I. 35 to be one of Manu's ten sons, and is so called also in the 3d verse of Book V, and the 2d of Book XII, where he is styled मानवो भृगुः, Kullūka thinks it necessary to explain this other alleged descent from fire by the customary subterfuge (see above, p. 24) of saying that that had been the sage's origin in a previous mundane era (*Kalpa*): यद्यपि प्रथमाध्याये दशप्रजापतिमध्ये भृगुं नारदमेवचेति भृगुसृष्टिरपि मनुत एवोक्ता तथापि कल्पभेदेनाग्निप्रभवत्वमुच्यते। तथा च श्रुतिः। तस्य यद् रेतसः प्रथमं देदीप्यते तदसावादित्योऽभवत् यद् द्वितीयमासीद् भृगुरिति। अत एव भ्रष्टाद्रेतस उत्पन्नत्वाद् भृगुः॥ "Though the creation of Bhṛigu, too, as one of the ten *prājāpatis*, "is ascribed, in the 35th verse of the first Book, to Manu, still his birth "from fire is here mentioned, as an event which occurred in another Kalpa. "Thus the Veda says: 'The first radiant offspring of his generative power "was the Sun; the second was Bhṛigu.' Wherefore he is called Bhṛigu "from the generative power which descended (*bhrāshṭa*)."

The Nirukta (III. 17) in like manner says: अर्चिषि भृगुः सम्बभूव भृगुर्भृज्यमानो न देहे। "Bhṛigu was produced in the flame: though wasted, he was "not burnt." Roth, in his remarks on this passage, (Erläut. p. 33) refers to a text in the Aitarēya Brahmana (3. 34), where Brahma is said to have made an offering of his own generative power in the fire; when Bhṛigu arose from the flame, &c. Professor Wilson informs us (in a note to p. 50 of the Vishnu Purāna) that the Vayu Purana also "has another account of "their origin," [i. e. that of the *prājāpatis*,] and states them to "have "sprung from the fires of a sacrifice offered by Brahmā; an allegorical "mode of expressing their probable original, considering them to be in some "degree real persons, from the Brahmanical ritual, of which they were the

After he had gone to heaven, his descendants were in want of money, and came to beg for a supply from the Bhṛigus, of whose wealth they were

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" first institutors and observers." The Mahābhārata (referred to by Weber, Ind. Stud. II. 231) alludes to a similar story regarding Bhṛigu : भृगुर्महर्षिर्भे-गवान् ब्रह्मणा वै स्वयम्भुवा। वरुणस्य क्रतौ जातः पावकादिति नः श्रुतम्॥ " We " have heard that the divine ṛishi Bhṛigu was produced by Brahmā from " fire at the sacrifice of Varuṇa."

The same story is told more at length in the Anuśāsana Parva of the Mahābhārata, verses 4114—4123, the essential parts of which I subjoin : देवपत्न्यश्च कन्याश्च देवानाञ्चैव मातरः। आजग्मुः सहितास्तत्र तदा भृगुकुलोद्वह। यज्ञं पशुपतेः प्रीता वरुणस्य महात्मनः। स्वयम्भुवस्तु ता दृष्ट्वा रेतः समपतद् भुवि। ..... स्कन्नमात्रञ्च तच्छुक्रं श्रुवेण परिगृह्य सः। आज्यवद् मन्त्रतश्चापि सोऽजुहोद् भृगुनन्दन। शुक्रे हुतेऽग्नौ तस्मिंस्तु प्रादुरासंस्त्रयः प्रभो। पुरुषा वपुषा युक्ताः स्वैः स्वैः प्रसवजैर्गुणैः। ..... सह ज्वालाभिरुत्पन्नो भृगुस्तस्माद् भृगुः स्मृतः॥ " The wives, daughters, and mothers of the gods then came all " together, delighted, to the sacrifice of Paśupati, the great Varuṇa. *Quum* " *Brahmā illas* [*deorum uxores, filiasque, matresque*] *vidisset, tum ejus semen* " *genitale in terram decidit . . . semen illud in cochleareo sacrificiali receptum,* " *et carmine purificatum ipse butyri loco obtulit. Illo semine in ignem con-* " *jecto, viri tres, corporibus instructi, et suæ quisque origini propriis qualita-* " *tibus præditi extiterunt.* Bhṛigu was produced with the flames ; whence " he is called Bhrigu."

Bhrigu is declared in the Vishnu Purana, I. 7, (see above, p. 25,) to be one of the nine sons of Brahmā, or *prajāpatis.* The Bhāgavata Purana (III. 12. 23) says he sprang from the skin of Brahmā ; भृगुस्त्वचि॥ The Mahābhārata, 1. 2605, on the contrary, says, ब्रह्मणो हृदयं भित्त्वा निःसृतो भगवान् भृगुः। " The divine Bhṛigu, having split the heart of Brahmā, " came forth." (Weber, Ind. Stud. II. 231.) The Vayu Purana (I. 6? 100) in like manner asserts that he issued from the heart of the creator (lit. the water-born) : भृगुस्तु हृदयाज्जज्ञे ऋषिः सलिलजन्मनः॥ १००॥ The same Purana adds : इत्येते मानसाः पुत्रा विज्ञेया ब्रह्मणः सुताः। भृग्वादयस्तु ये सृष्टा नवैते ब्रह्मवादिनः॥ १०३॥ गृहमेधिनः पुराणास्ते धर्मैस्तैः प्राक् प्रवर्त्तितः॥ " These were the mind-born sons of Brahmā ; but Bhṛigu and the other nine " who were created were skilled in (or utterers of) sacred knowledge. These " are the ancient householders ; by them duty was of old established."

In the Śatapatha Brāhmăna, XI. 4. 5, Bhṛigu is mentioned as the son of Varuṇa : भृगुर्ह वै वारुणिर्वरुणं पितरं विद्याञ्चक्रे। " Bhṛigu, son of

aware. Some of the latter hid their money under ground, others bestowed it on Brahmans, being afraid of the Kshatriyas, while others, again, gave

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"Varuṇa, excelled his father Varuṇa in knowledge, &c." (See Weber's Ind. Studien, and the Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morg. Gesellschaft, Vol. 9. p. 240.) In the Taittirīya Upanishad also (p. 123 of Roer's edit.) the same designation is given to the sage: भृगुर्वै वारुणिर्वरुणं पितरमुपससार। "Bhṛigu, son of Varuṇa, came to his father Varuṇa." In a passage of the Anuśāsana Parva, a little further on than that quoted just above, we have an explanation of the way in which Bhṛigu came to be called the son of Varuṇa: Anuśāsana Parva, verses 4140 et seqq. निसर्गाद् ब्रह्मणश्चापि वरुणो यादसाम्पतिः। जग्राह वै भृगुं पूर्वमपत्यं सूर्यवर्चसम्। .... तदा स वारुणः ख्यातो भृगुः प्रसवकर्मकृत्। Verses 4145 et seqq. भृगोस्तु पुत्राः सप्तासन् सर्वे तुल्या भृगोर्गुणैः। च्यवनो वज्रशीर्षश्च शुचिरौर्वस्तथैव च। शुक्रो वरेण्यश्च विभुः सवनश्चेति सप्त ते। भार्गवा वारुणाः सर्वे येषां वंशो महानपि॥ "Formerly Varuṇa, "the lord of marine creatures, by the creation of Brahmā, received for his "offspring Bhṛigu, radiant as the Sun. .... Then Bhṛigu, the generator, "was called Vāruṇa .... Bhṛigu had seven sons, all equal to himself in their "qualities .... Chyavana .... Aurva, &c. These were all Bhārgavas, and "Vāruṇas, and had a numerous race."

Bhrigu or his descendants have already come under our notice in pp. 38, 50, 51, 52, 53, 85, and 104. They are mentioned in many hymns of the Rig Veda as exercising sacrificial functions, &c.; e. g. Rig Veda, I. 58, 6: I. 127, 7: II. 4, 2: VI. 15, 2: VIII. 43, 13: X. 46, 2: X. 92, 10: X. 122, 5. And in the 18th hymn of the seventh Mandala they are alluded to as a tribe of warriors apparently: शुष्टिं चक्रुर्भृगवो द्रुह्यवश्च। "The Bhṛigus and Druh-"yas came quickly."

Roth (Zur Litt. und Gesch. des Weda, p. 135) says: "The Bhrigus are "one of the most important Vedic families, to which Jamadagni, Chya-"vana, Aurva, Apnavāna, and other ṛishis are assigned. Many conjectures "might be formed in connexion with the part which these several Bhrigus "play in the later legends; but it seems to me unsafe to draw any con-"clusions till we are in possession of the intermediate links, and especially "till we have learnt more precisely from the Vedic hymns themselves the "relations of these families to each other. Nevertheless I will remark that "Śunahsepha, the adopted son of Viśwāmitra, is, according to the Puranas, "a Bhrigu; and consequently the Bhrigus appear in intimate connexion "with the enemy of Vasishṭha; [see above, pp. 104 and 119, and elsewhere "in this chapter;] and further, that Sagara, who was reared by the Bhrigu

these last what they wanted. It happened, however, that a Kshatriya, while digging the ground, discovered the money concealed in the house of a Bhṛigu. The Kshatriyas then assembled and saw this treasure, and slew, in consequence, all the Bhṛigus, down to the children in the womb.[80] The widows, however, fled to the Himālăya mountains. One of them concealed her unborn child in her thigh. The Kshatriyas, hearing of its existence, sought to kill it; but it issued forth with a lustre which blinded the persecutors. They, now humbled, supplicated the mother of the child for the restoration of their sight; but she referred them to her wonderful infant Aurva (into whom the whole Veda, with its six Vedāngas, had entered[81]), as the person who had robbed them of their sight, (in retaliation of the slaughter of his relatives,) and who alone could restore it. They accordingly had recourse to him, and their eyesight was restored. Aurva, however, meditated the destruction of all living creatures, in revenge for the slaughter of the Bhṛigus; but his progenitors (*Pitṛis*) themselves appeared, and sought to turn him from his purpose by saying that they had no desire to ber evenged on the Kshatriyas; "whose violence the devout Bhṛigus had "not overlooked from weakness, but had rather sought to provoke, by "concealing their money, (for which, in view of heaven, they cared no-"thing,) in order, when weary of life, to bring about their own destruction "by the hands of those irritated warriors, that so they might be exalted the "sooner to paradise. Destroy not the Kshatriyas, o son," they concluded, "nor the seven worlds: abandon your kindled wrath, which nullifies the "power of austerity."[82] It is curious that in a legend, the object of which

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"Aurva, is supported by Vasishṭha in his war of extermination against the "Sakas and other barbarous tribes."

[80] Mahābhārata, Adi Parva, Sect. 178, verses 6809—10. अवमन्य ततः क्रोधाद् भृगूंस्ताञ्छरणागतान् । निजघ्नुः परमेष्वासाः सर्वांस्तान् निशितैः शरैः । आगर्भादवकृन्तन्तश्चेरुः सर्वां वसुन्धराम् ॥

[81] Mahābhārata, Adi Parva, Sect. 178, verse 6823. षडङ्गश्चाखिलो वेद इमं गर्भस्थमेव ह । विवेश भृगुवंशस्य भूयः प्रियचिकीर्षया ॥

[82] नानीशैर्हि तदा तात भृगुभिर्भावितात्मभिः । वधो ह्युपेक्षितः सर्वैः क्षत्रियाणां विहिंसताम् । अयुधा विप्रकृष्टेन यदा नः खेद आविशत् । तदाऽस्माभिर्वधस्तात क्षत्रियैरीप्सितः स्वयम् । निखातं यच्च वै वित्तं केनचिद् भृगुवेश्मनि । वैरायैव तदा न्यस्तं क्षत्रियान् कोपयिष्णुभिः । किं हि वित्तेन नः कार्य्यं स्वर्गेप्सूनां द्विजोत्तम । ..... मावधीः क्षत्रियांस्तात न लोकान् सप्त पुत्रक । दूषयन्तं तपस्तेजः क्रोधमुत्पतितं जहि ॥

seems to be to hold up to abhorrence the impiety of the Kshatriyas in oppressing the Brahmans, we should thus find a palliation of the conduct of the oppressors, coming from another world. But here the principle of the nothingness of mundane existence asserts itself; and the final superiority of the Brahmans is vindicated. Aurva, however, argued against this clemency on grounds of justice and policy; and urged that his wrath, if it found no other vent, would consume himself. He was, however, at length persuaded by the Pitṛis to throw it into the sea, where it found exercise in assailing the watery element; "having become the great Haya-"śiras, known to those who are acquainted with the Veda, which vomits "forth that fire, and drinks up the waters." [83]

The next reference to this legend is that made in the 115th—117th Sections of the Vana Parva. Arjuna, son of Kṛitavīrya, and king of the Haihăyas, had, we are told, twenty-one hundred arms. He rode in a chariot of gold, the march of which was irresistible. He thus trod down gods, Yăkshas, and ṛishis, and oppressed all creatures. [84] The gods and ṛishis applied to Vishnu, and he along with Indra, who had been insulted by Arjuna, devised the means of destroying the latter. About this time, the story goes on, there lived a king of Kānyakubja called Gādhi, who had a daughter named Sătyăvătī. The marriage of this princess to the ṛishi Ṛichīka, and the birth of Jamadagni, are then told in the same way as above narrated in p. 85. Jamadagni and Satyavatī had five sons, the youngest of whom was the redoubtable Paraśurāma. By his father's command he kills his mother (in whom her husband had detected some inward defilement), after the four elder sons had refused this matricidal office, and had in consequence been deprived of reason by their father's curse. At Paraśurāma's desire, however, his mother is restored by his father to life, and his brothers to reason; and he himself is absolved from all the guilt of murder. His history now begins to be connected with that of king Arjuna (or Kārtavīrya). The latter had come to Jamadagni's hermitage, and had been respectfully received; but he had requited this honour by carrying away by force the calf of the sage's sacrificial cow, and breaking down his lofty trees. On being informed of this violence, Paraśurāma was filled with indignation, attacked and slew Arjuna, and cut off his arms (which, according to this

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[83] ततस्तं क्रोधसञ्जातमौर्वोऽग्निं वरुणालये । उत्ससर्ज स चैवाप उपयुंक्ते महोदधौ । महद् हयशिरो भूत्वा यत् तद् वेदविदो विदुः । तमग्निमुद्गिरद् वक्त्रात् पिबत्यापो महोदधौ ॥

[84] Mahābhārata, Vana Parva, verse 11038. ममर्द देवान् यक्षांश्च ऋषींश्चैव समन्ततः । भूतांश्चैव स सर्वांस्तु पीडयामास सर्वतः ॥

version, were a thousand in number). Arjuna's sons in return slew the sage Jamadagni, in the absence of Paraśurāma. The latter vowed to destroy the whole Kshatriya race: and executed his threat by killing first Arjuna's sons, and their followers. "Twenty-one times," it is said, "he "swept away all Kshatriyas from the earth, and formed five lakes of blood "in Samantapanchaka; in which he satiated the manes of the Bhṛigus .... "He then performed a grand sacrifice to Indra, and gave the earth to the "officiating priests. He bestowed also a golden altar on the sage Kaśyapa ".... This, by his permission, the Brahmans divided among themselves, de- "riving thence the name of Khāṇḍavāyanas. Having given away the earth "to Kaśyapa, Paraśurāma himself dwells on the mountain Mahendra. "Thus did enmity arise between him and the Kshatriyas, and thus was the "earth conquered by Rāma of boundless might." [85]

There is a third version of this legend given in the S'ānti Parva, Section 49. The birth of Jamadagni as the son of Ṛichīka and Satyavatī is related in the usual manner: and of Viśwāmitra, the son of Gādhi, we are told that he was "equal to a Brahman, and possessed of all Brahmanical qualities." [86] Jamadagni was father of Paraśurāma, "who became perfect in all science; "thoroughly versed in archery, and the slayer of the Kshatriyas, himself vio- "lent as flaming fire. By propitiating Mahādēva he obtained, among other "things, the irresistible axe (*paraśu*)," [87] from which his name is derived.

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[85] Mahābhārata, Vana Parva, verses 10201 et seqq. (Vol. I. p. 573.) प्रतिज्ञे बधञ्चापि सर्वक्षत्रस्य भारत। स क्रुद्धोऽतिबलो संख्ये शस्त्रमादाय वीर्य्यवान्। जघ्निवान् कार्त्तवीर्य्यस्य सुतानेकोऽन्तकोपमः। तेषाञ्चानुगता ये च क्षत्रियाः क्षत्रियर्षभ। तांश्च सर्वानवामृद्नाद् रामः प्रहरतां वरः। त्रिसप्तकृत्वः पृथिवीं कृत्वा निःक्षत्रियां प्रभुः। समन्तपञ्चके पञ्च चकार रौधिरान् ह्रदान्। स तेषु तर्पयामास भृगून् भृगुकुलोद्वहः। ..... ततो यज्ञेन महता जामदग्न्यः प्रतापवान्। तर्पयामास देवेन्द्रम् ऋत्विग्भ्यः प्रददौ महीम्। वेदीञ्चाप्पददाद् हैमीं कश्यपाय महात्मने। ..... तां कश्यपस्यानुमते ब्राह्मणाः खण्डशस्तदा। व्यभजंस्ते तदा राजन् प्रख्याताः खाण्डवायनाः। स प्रदाय महीं तस्मै कश्यपाय महात्मने। अस्मिन् महेन्द्रे शैलेन्द्रे वसत्यमितविक्रमः। एवं वैरमभूत् तस्य क्षत्रियैर्लोकवासिभिः। पृथिवी चापि विजिता रामेणामिततेजसा॥

[86] S'ānti Parva, Sect. 49, verse 1745. विश्वामित्रञ्च दायादं गाधिः कुशिकनन्दनः। यं प्राप ब्रह्मसम्मितं विश्वैर्ब्रह्मगुणैर्युतम्॥

[87] Ibid. verses 1747 et seqq. सर्वविद्यान्तगं श्रेष्ठं धनुर्वेदस्य पारगम्। रामं क्षत्रियहन्तारं प्रदीप्तमिव पावकम्। तोषयित्वा महादेवं पर्वते गन्धमादने। अस्त्राणि वरयामास परशुञ्चातितेजसम्॥

Arjuna, son of Kṛitavīrya, king of the Haihayas, is here represented as a "dutiful and religious monarch, who at an *aśwamedha* (horse-sacrifice) bestowed on the Brahmans the earth with its seven continents and mountains, "which he had conquered with his thousand arms."[88] He had however been cursed by the sage Āpava (Vaśishṭha) to have those arms cut off by Paraśurāma. "Being of a meek, pious, kind, and charitable turn of mind, the valiant "Arjuna thought nothing of the curse; but his sons, who were of a barbarous disposition, became the cause of his death. Unknown to their father, "they took away Jamadagni's calf; and, in consequence, Paraśurāma attacked "Arjuna, and cut off his arms."[89] His sons retaliated by killing Jamadagni. "Paraśurama having vowed in consequence to sweep away all Kshatriyas from "the earth, seized his weapons; and slaughtering the sons and grandsons of "Arjuna, with thousands of the Haihayas, he cleared the earth of Kshatriyas, "and converted it into a mass of ensanguined mud. Then, being penetrated "by deep compassion, he went to the forest."[90] After thousands of years had elapsed he was taunted by Parāvăsu, the grandson of Viśwāmitra, "with "having failed to fulfil his threat, and vainly boasted in public of having killed "all the Kshatriyas, (as many of that tribe were there present,) and with having "withdrawn from fear; while the earth had again become overrun by them.... "The Kshatriyas who had before been spared had now grown powerful kings. "These, however, being stung by Parāvăsu's taunt, Parasurāma now slew "with their children, and all the yet unborn infants as they came into the "world. Some, however, were preserved by their mothers. Having twenty-"one times cleared the earth of Kshatriyas, he gave her as a sacrificial fee to

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[88] S'ānti Parva, Sect. 49, verses 1751 et seqq. चक्रवर्त्ती महातेजा विप्राणामाश्वमेधिके। ददौ स पृथिवीं सर्वां सप्तद्वीपां सपर्वताम्। स्वबाहुस्त्रबलेनाजौ जित्वा परमधर्मवित्॥

[89] Ibid. verses 1759 et seqq. अर्जुनस्तु महातेजा बली नित्यं शमात्मकः। ब्रह्मण्यश्च शरण्यश्च दाता शूरश्च भारत। नाचिन्तयत् तदा शापं तेन दत्तं महात्मना। तस्य पुत्रास्तु बलिनः शापेनासन् पितुर्वधे। निमित्तादबलिप्ता वै नृशंसाश्चैव सर्वदा। जमदग्निनधेन्वास्ते (sic) वत्समानिन्युरेतधैभ। अज्ञातं कार्त्तवीर्य्येण हैहयेन्द्रेण धीमता। तन्निमित्तमभूद् युद्धं जामदग्नेर्महात्मनः। ततोऽर्जुनस्य बाहूंस्तान् छित्त्वा रामो रुषान्वितः। &c.

[90] Ibid. verses 1766 et seqq. ततः पितृवधामर्षाद् रामः परममन्युमान्। निःक्षत्रियां प्रतिश्रुत्य महीं शस्त्रमगृह्णत। ततः स भृगुशार्दूलः कार्त्तवीर्य्यस्य वीर्य्यवान्। विक्रम्य निजघानाशु पुत्रान् पौत्रांश्च सर्वशः। स हैहयसहस्राणि हत्वा परममन्युमान्। चकार भार्गवो राजन् महीं शोणितकर्दमाम्। स तथाशु महातेजा कृत्वा निःक्षत्रियां महीम्। कृपया परयाविष्टो वनमेव जगाम ह॥

" Kaśyapa at the conclusion of the *aśwamedha*. Kaśyapa, making a signal " with his hand, in which he held the sacrificial ladle, that the remaining " Kshatriyas should be spared, sent away Paraśurāma to the shore of the " southern ocean. . . . . Having received dominion over the earth, Kaśyapa " made it an abode of Brahmans, and himself withdrew to the forests. " S'ūdras and Vaiśyas then began to act lawlessly towards the wives of the " Brahmans; and, in consequence of there being no government, the weak " were oppressed by the strong, and no one was master of his property. . . . . " The Earth, being distressed by the wicked, in consequence of that dis- " order, descended to the lower regions, &c. . . . . This goddess Earth then " supplicated Kaśyapa for protection, and for a king. 'She had,' she said, " 'preserved among the females many Kshatriyas who had been born in the " race of the Haihayas, and whom she desired for her protectors.'" Among these are mentioned Sarvakarmā, the son of Saudāsa, (see Wilson's Vishnu Purana, p. 380, note 10,) " whom the tender-hearted priest Parā- " śāra had saved, performing, though a Brahman, all menial offices (*sarva-* " *karmāṇi*) for him, like a S'ūdra;—whence the prince's name. . . . . 'All " these Kshatriyas' descendants have been preserved in different places . . . " if they protect me, I shall continue unshaken. *Their fathers and grand-* " *fathers were slain on my account* by Rāma, energetic in action. It is " incumbent on me to avenge their cause. For I do not desire to be " always protected by an extraordinary person[? such as Kaśyapa?]; but I " will be content with an ordinary ruler[?]. Let this be speedily fulfilled.' " Kaśyapa then sent for these Kshatriyas who had been pointed out by the " Earth, and installed them in the kingly office." [91]

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[91] S'ānti Parva, Sect. 49, verses 1772 et seqq. ये ये ययातिपतने यज्ञे सन्ति समागताः। प्रतर्दनप्रभृतयो राम किं क्षत्रिया न ते। मिथ्याप्रतिज्ञो राम त्वं कत्थसे जनसंसदि। भयात् क्षत्रियवीराणां पर्वतं समुपाश्रितः। सा पुनः क्षत्रियशतैः पृथिवी सर्वतः स्मृता। परावसोर्वचः श्रुत्वा शस्त्रं जग्राह भार्गवः। ततो ये क्षत्रिया राजन् शतशस्तेन वर्जिताः। ते विवृद्धा महावीर्याः पृथिवीपतयोऽभवन्। स पुनस्तान् जघानाशु बालानपि नराधिप। गर्भस्थैस्तु मही व्याप्ता पुनरेवाभवत् तदा। जातं जातं स गर्भन्तु पुनरेव जघान ह। अरक्षंश्च सुतान् कांश्चित् तदा क्षत्रिययोषितः। त्रिसप्तकृत्वः पृथिवीं कृत्वा निःक्षत्रियां प्रभुः। दक्षिणामश्वमेधान्ते कश्यपायाददत् ततः। स क्षत्रियाणां शेषार्थं करेणोद्दिश्य कश्यपः। सुक्प्रग्रहवता राजंस्ततो वाक्यमथाब्रवीत्। गच्छ तीरं समुद्रस्य दक्षिणस्य महामुने। . . . . . कश्यपस्तां महाराज प्रतिगृह्य वसुन्धराम्। कृत्वा ब्राह्मणसंस्थां वै प्रविष्टः सुमहावनम्। ततः शूद्राश्च वैश्याश्च यथा स्वैरप्रचारिणः। अवर्त्तन्त द्विजाग्र्याणां दारेषु भरतर्षभ। अराजके जीवलोके दुर्बला बलवत्तरैः। पीड्यन्ते न च विन्देषु प्रभुत्वं

This story is related in the Bhāgavata Purana in a similar way. I shall note any varieties. When Gādhi's daughter was demanded in marriage by the ṛishi Richīka, the king considered that the suitor was not a fit husband for a daughter of his noble race; and said, "Give me a thousand horses "white as the moon, each with one black ear, as a marriage gift for the "maiden; *for we are Kuśikas.*"[92] "The youngest offspring of their union" was, we are told, "Paraśurāma, who is declared to have been a portion of "Vāsudēva (Vishṇu in the form of Krishṇa), and who exterminated the "Haihaya race. Thrice seven times he swept away from this earth all the "Kshatriyas, that depraved and impious race, full of passion and darkness, "with which she was burthened. He destroyed them, though the offence "which they had committed was but insignificant."[93] King Arjuna, who had become insolent from the miraculous power with which he had been endowed, took away by force Jamadagni's cow and calf. Paraśurāma, in revenge, after a terrible battle, and the defeat of the king's army, cut off Arjuna's arms and head, and recovered the cow and calf. When his father was informed of the king's death, he said to Paraśurāma: "Rāma, Rāma, "thou hast committed sin, in that thou hast causelessly slain the lord of "men, who is composed of all the deities. It is by longsuffering that we, "the Brahmans, have acquired respect; the same means whereby the deity,

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कस्यचित् तदा । ततः कालेन पृथिवी पीड्यमाना दुरात्मभिः । विपर्ययेन तेनाशु प्रविवेश रसातलम् । ..... रक्षणार्थं समुद्दिश्य ययाचे पृथिवी तदा । प्रसाद्य कश्यपं देवी वरयामास भूमिपम् । पृथिव्युवाच । सन्ति ब्रह्मन् मया गुप्ताः स्त्रीषु क्षत्रियपुङ्गवाः । हैहयानां कुले जातास्ते संरक्षन्तु मां मुने । ..... तथानुकम्पमानेन यज्ञनाऽप्यमितौजसा । पराशरेण दायादः सौदास्याभिरक्षितः । सर्वकर्माणि कुरुते शूद्रवत् तस्य स द्विजः । सर्वकर्मेत्यभिख्यातः स मां रक्षतु पार्थिवः । ..... एते क्षत्रियदायादास्तव तत्र परिश्रिताः । ..... यदि मामभिरक्षन्ति ततः स्यास्यामि निश्चला । एतेषां पितरश्चैव तथैव च पितामहाः । मदर्थं निहता युद्धे रामेणाक्लिष्टकर्मणा । तेषामपचितिश्चैव मया कार्य्या महामुने । नह्यहं कामये नित्यम् अतिक्रान्तेन रक्षणम् । वर्त्तमानेन वर्त्तेयं तत् क्षिप्रं संविधीयताम् । वासुदेव उवाच । ततः पृथिव्या निर्दिष्टांस्तान् समानीय कश्यपः । अभ्यषिञ्चद् महीपालान् क्षत्रियान् वीर्य्यसम्मतान् ॥

[92] Bhāgavata Purana, IX. 15. 6. एकतः श्यामकर्णीनां हयानां चन्द्रवर्चसाम् । सहस्रं दीयतां शुल्कं कन्यायाः कुशिका वयम् ॥

[93] Ibid. verses 13—15. यवीयान् जज्ञ एतेषां राम इत्यभिविश्रुतः । यमाहुर्वासुदेवांशं हैहयानां कुलान्तकम् । त्रिसप्तकृत्वो य इमां चक्रे निःक्षत्रियां महीम् । दुष्टं क्षत्रं भुवो भारमब्रह्मण्यमनीनशत् । रजस्तमोवृतमहन् फल्गुन्यपि कृतेंऽहसि ॥

" the instructor of all worlds, attained the highest rank of godhead. . . . . " The murder of a king who has been formally inaugurated is worse than " that of a Brahman. Go and expiate thy sin by visiting holy places, with " thy mind intent upon Achyuta (Vishnu)." [94] After his return from this pilgrimage, his father Jamadagni was slain by the sons of Arjuna, who cut off his head. Paraśurāma, seizing hold of his axe, proceeded to avenge this outrage. " He went to the city of Māhishmātī, which had been " robbed of its glory by those Brahman-slayers, and raised in the midst of " it a great mountain composed of their heads. With their blood he formed " a dreadful river, which struck fear into the impious." [95] " He then united " his father's head to his body, laying it on the sacred grass; and offered a " sacrifice to the divine spirit, who is formed of all the deities. On this " occasion he gave the eastern region of the earth to the *hotṛi* priest, the " south to the *brahmā*, the west to the *adhwaryu*, and the north to the " *udgātṛi*. To others he gave the intermediate regions (south-east, south-" west, &c.), to Kaśyapa the central; on the *upadrashtṛi* he bestowed " *Āryāvărtta*, and on the assistants all the remainder." [96] " Thus did the " universal spirit, the divine lord, Hari, become incarnate in the Bhṛigus, " and destroy numerous kings who were a burden to the earth." [97]

The Mahābhārata, Anuśāsana Parva, has another " ancient story " about Paraśurāma, which, like the preceding passage from the Bhāgavata Purana, adverts to the pollution incurred by that warrior from his numerous deeds

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[94] Bhāg. Pur. IX. 15, verses 38 et seqq. राम राम महाबाहो भवान् पापमकारषीत् (so in the Bombay edition: Burnouf has the usual form अकार्षीत्)। अवधीद् नरदेवं यत् सर्वदेवमयं वृथा। वयं हि ब्राह्मणास्तात क्षमयाऽर्हणतां गताः। यया लोकगुरुर्देवः पारमेष्ठ्यमयात् पदम्। . . . . . राज्ञो मूर्द्धाभिषिक्तस्य वधो ब्रह्मवधाद् गुरुः। तीर्थसंसेवया चांहो जह्यङ्गाच्युतचेतनः॥ On the divine character of kings, see Manu VII. 4—8. In verse 8 it is said: महती देवता ह्येषा नररूपेण तिष्ठति। " For the king is a powerful deity in a human form."

[95] Ibid. Sect. 16, verses 17 and 18. गत्वा माहिष्मतीं रामो ब्रह्मघ्नविहतश्रियम्। तेषां स शीर्षभी राजन् मध्ये चक्रे महागिरिम्। तद्रक्तेन नदीं घोरामब्रह्मण्यभयावहाम्। हेतुं कृत्वा पितृवधं क्षत्रेऽमङ्गलकारिणि॥

[96] Ibid. verses 20—22. पितुः कायेन सन्धाय शिर आदाय बर्हिषि। सर्वदेवमयं देवमात्मानमयजद् मखैः। ददौ प्राचीं दिशं होत्रे ब्रह्मणे दक्षिणां दिशम्। अध्वर्यवे प्रतीचीं वै उद्गात्रे उत्तरां दिशम्। अन्येभ्योऽवान्तरदिशः कश्यपाय च मध्यतः। आर्य्यावर्त्तमुपद्रष्ट्रे सदस्येभ्यस्ततः परम्॥

[97] Ibid. verse 27. एवं भृगुषु विश्वात्मा भगवान् हरिरीश्वरः। अवतीर्य्य परं भारं भुवोऽहन् बहुशो नृपान्॥

of blood. It begins as follows: "Rāma, son of Jamadagni, having thrice "seven times cleared the world of Kshatriyas, and conquered the whole earth, "performed the horse-sacrifice, venerated by Brahmans and Kshatriyas, which "confers all objects of desire, which cleanses all creatures, augments power and "lustre; and became thereby sinless and glorious. He did not, however, feel "relieved in his mind, but enquired of the rishis skilled in the scriptures, and "the gods, what was that which most perfectly cleansed a man who had com-"mitted deeds of violence; for he felt compunction for what he had done. "The rishis skilled in the Vedas and S'āstras replied, 'Let the Brahmans "be the objects of your liberality, as the authority of the Vedas requires; "and let the Brahman-rishis be further consulted in regard to the means of "lustration.'"[98] Paraśurāma accordingly consulted Vaśishtha, Agastya, and Kaśyapa. They replied that he should bestow cows, land, and other property, and especially gold, the purifying power of which was very great: "as "those who bestow it, bestow the gods:"—a proposition which is thus compendiously proved: "for Agni comprehends all the gods; and gold is "of the essence of Agni."[99] In regard to the origin of this precious metal, Vasishtha tells a very long story, how it was born by the goddess Gangā to Agni, by whom she had been impregnated, and was thus the son of that god. "Thus was gold born the offspring of Jātavēdas (Agni), ... the "chief of gems and of ornaments, the most pure of all pure things, the "most auspicious of all auspicious objects; and one with the divine Agni, "the lord Prajāpati."[100] It must be highly consolatory for those who are dis-

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[98] Anuśāsana Parva, verses 3960 &c. जामदग्न्येन रामेण तीव्ररोषान्वितेन वै। त्रिःसप्तकृत्वः पृथिवी कृता निःक्षत्रिया पुरा। ततो जित्वा महीं कृत्स्नां रामो राजीवलोचनः। आजहार क्रतुं वीर ब्रह्मक्षत्रेण पूजितम्। वाजिमेधं महाराज सर्वकामसमन्वितम्। पावनं सर्वभूतानां तेजोद्युतिविवर्द्धनम्। विपात्मा स च तेजस्वी तेन क्रतुफलेन च। नैवात्मनोऽथ लघुतां जामदग्न्योऽध्यगच्छत। स तु क्रतुवरेणेष्ट्वा महात्मा दक्षिणावता। पप्रच्छागमसम्पन्नानृषीन् देवांश्च भार्गवः। पावनं यत् परं नृणामुग्रे कर्मणि वर्त्तताम्। तदुच्यतां महाभागा इति जातघृणोऽब्रवीत्। इत्युक्ता वेदशास्त्रज्ञास्तमूचुस्ते महर्षयः। राम विप्रा सत्क्रियन्तां वेदप्रामाण्यदर्शनात्। भूयश्च विप्रर्षिगणाः प्रष्टव्याः पावनं प्रति॥

[99] Verse 3987. देवतास्ते प्रयच्छन्ति ये सुवर्णं ददत्यथ। अग्निर्हि देवताः सर्वाः सुवर्णञ्च तदात्मकम्॥

[100] Verses 4099 et seqq. एवं सुवर्णमुत्पन्नमपत्यं जातवेदसः। ..... रत्नानामुत्तमं रत्नं भूषणानां तथोत्तमम्। पवित्रञ्च पवित्राणां मङ्गलानाञ्च मङ्गलम्। यत् सुवर्णं स भगवानग्निरीशः प्रजापतिः॥

posed to be liberal to the Brahmans, to be assured that the gift of gold has such a high mystical, as well as current exchangeable, value. "Paraśurāma," the story concludes, "after being thus addressed by Vaśishṭha, gave gold "to the Brahmans, and was freed from sin." [1]

It is interesting to remark how the different distinctive principles of Indian religion and sentiment severally assert themselves in turn, and thus occasionally come into conflict with each other, as in this story of Paraśurāma. The primary object of this legend is to illustrate the vengeance which inevitably overtakes all those who violate the sacredness of Brahmanical prerogative, and the meritorious character of those who act as its defenders. No sooner, however, is this end accomplished, and the impious foes of the priesthood swept away again and again from the face of the earth, than a revulsion of feeling takes place, and the higher principles of the sacredness of life, and of the blessedness of mercy, come forward to claim recognition; and a deep sense of the pollution of bloodshed calls aloud for atonement. In the Bhāgavata, Jamadagni imputes it as a crime to the avenger of the Brahmans that he had slain a king; and even declares that in doing so he had incurred greater guilt than if he had murdered a Brahman.

Arjuna is again brought forward in the Mahābhārata, Anuśāsana Parva, verses 7187 et seqq., as follows: "The magnificent and mighty Kārttavīrya "(Arjuna), possessing a thousand arms, was lord of this whole world, "living in Māhishmatī. This Haihaya of unquestioned valour ruled "over the whole sea-girt earth, with its oceans and continents." [2] He obtained boons from Dattātrēya, a thousand arms, victory, rectitude, &c. "Then ascending his chariot glorious as the resplendent sun, he "exclaimed in the intoxication of his valour, 'Who is like me in fortitude, "courage, fame, heroism, energy and vigour?' At the end of his speech a "bodiless voice in the sky addressed him: 'Thou knowest not, o fool, "that a Brahman is better than a Kshatriya. It is with the help of the "Brahman that the Kshatriya rules.' [3] Arjuna answers: 'If I am pleased,

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[1] Verse 4183. इत्युक्तः स वशिष्ठेन जामदग्न्यः प्रतापवान् । ददौ सुवर्णं विप्रेभ्यो व्यमुच्यत च किल्बिषात् ॥

[2] Verses 7187, 8. सहस्रभुजभृच्छ्रीमान् कार्त्तवीर्योऽभवत् प्रभुः । अस्य लोकस्य सर्वस्य माहिष्मत्यां महाबलः । स तु रत्नाकरवतीं सद्वीपां सागराम्बराम् । शशास पृथिवीं सर्वां हैहयः सत्यविक्रमः ॥

[3] Verse 7196 et seqq. ततः स रथमास्थाय ज्वलनार्कसमद्युतिम् । अब्रवीद् वीर्यसम्मोहात् को न्वस्ति सदृशो मम । धैर्ये वीर्ये यशःशौर्ये विक्रमेणौजसाऽपि

" I can create, or, if displeased, annihilate, living creatures; and no Brahman is " superior to me in act, thought, or word: .... The Brahmans are dependant " on the Kshatriyas, and not the Kshatriyas on the Brahmans; and the Kshat- " riyas are eaten up by the Brahmans, who only make the Vedas a pretence. " ..... No one in the three worlds, god or man, can hurl me from my royal " authority: wherefore I am superior to any Brahman." [4] The god Vāyu, speaking from the sky, then advises Arjuna to abandon this sinful disposition, and do obeisance to the Brahmans, who would otherwise expel him from his kingdom. Arjuna remarks that the god is to-day displaying a great partiality to the Brahmans. [5] Vayu however goes on to adduce various instances in which the terrible power of the Brahmans had been manifested: " The earth, being offended with the king Anga, had lost " her form, and become destroyed: but the Brahman Kaśyapa supported " her." [6] This is afterwards told more at length: " King Anga wished to " bestow this earth on the Brahmans as a sacrificial fee. The earth then " reflected, 'How does this excellent king, after having obtained me, the " daughter of Brahmā, and the supporter of all creatures, desire to give me " to the Brahmans? I shall abandon my earthly condition, and go to the " world of Brahmā. Let this king be without any realm.' Accordingly " she departed. Beholding her going away, Kaśyapa, sunk in contempla- " tion, entered into her, leaving his own body. She then became re- " plenished, and covered with grass and plants, &c. &c. She afterwards " came and did obeisance to Kaśyapa, and became his daughter." [7]

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वा । तद्वाक्यानेऽन्तरीक्षे वै वागुवाचाशरीरिणी । न त्वं मूढ विजानीषे ब्राह्मणं क्षत्रियाद् वरम् । सहितो ब्राह्मणेनेह क्षत्रियः शास्ति वै प्रजाः ॥

[4] Verse 7199. कुर्यां भूतानि तुष्टोऽहं क्रुद्धो नाशं तथा नये । कर्मणा मनसा वाचा न मत्तोऽस्ति वरो द्विजः । . . . Verse 7201. ब्राह्मणाः संश्रिताः क्षत्रं न क्षत्रं ब्राह्मणाश्रितम् । श्रिता ब्रह्मोपधा विप्रा खादन्ति क्षत्रियान् भुवि । Verse 7205. न च मां च्यावयेद् राष्ट्रात् त्रिषु लोकेषु कश्चन । देवो वा मानुषो वाऽपि तस्माज्ज्येष्ठो द्विजादहम् ॥

[5] Verse 7211. अहो त्वयाऽद्य विप्रेषु भक्तिरागः प्रदर्शितः ॥

[6] Verse 7214. त्यक्त्वा महीत्वं भूमिस्तु स्पर्द्धयाऽङ्गनृपस्य ह । नाशं जगाम तां विप्रो व्यष्टम्भयत कश्यपः ॥

[7] Verses 7232 et seqq. इमां भूमिं द्विजातिभ्यो दित्सुर्वै दक्षिणां पुरा । अङ्गो नाम नृपो राजंस्ततश्चिन्तां मही ययौ । धारणीं सर्वभूतानाम् अयं प्राप्य वरो नृपः । कथमिच्छति मां दातुं द्विजेभ्यो ब्रह्मणः सुताम् । साऽहं त्यक्त्वा गमिष्यामि भूमित्वं ब्रह्मणः पदम् । अयं सराष्ट्रो नृपतिर्मा भूदिति ततोऽगमत् । ततस्तां कश्यपो दृष्ट्वा

" Angiras, too, himself formerly drank up the waters by his own might;
" . . . and filled the whole earth with a great flood." [8]

" The divine Purandara (Indra), who had a passion for Ahalyā, was cursed
" by [her husband] Gautama; but, from motives of religion, he was not
" injured." [9]

" The sea, which is filled and purified by water, being cursed by the
" Brahmans became salt." [10]

" The great Kshatriya family of the Tālajanghas was destroyed by Aurva
" alone." [11]

" And why doest thou, o Arjuna, worship Agni (who is) a Brahman? for
" knowest thou not that he bears the oblations of the whole world?" [12]

The story of Utathya, of the race of Angiras, is then told: " Bhadrā was
" the daughter of Soma, and distinguished by great beauty. Sōma re-

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व्रजन्तीं पृथिवीं तदा । प्रविवेश महीं सद्यो मुक्ताऽऽत्मानं समाहितः । ऋद्धा सा सर्वतो जज्ञे तृणौषधिसमन्विता । . . . . . अथागम्य महाराज नमस्कृत्य च काश्यपम् । पृथिवी काश्यपी जज्ञे सुता तस्य महात्मनः ॥

[8] Verses 7215, 16. अपिवत् तेजसा ह्यापः स्वयमेवाङ्गिराः पुरा । . . . . . अपूरयद् महौघेन महीं सर्वाञ्च पार्थिव ॥

[9] Verse 7218. अथ शप्तश्च भगवान् गौतमेन पुरन्दरः । अहल्यां कामयानो वै धर्मार्थञ्च न हिंसितः ॥

In the Mahābhārata, Anuśāsana Parva, verses 2262 et seqq., there is another story of Indra being enamoured of Ruchi, the wife of the ṛishi Devaśarmā, and of the device which that sage's disciple, Vipula, (to whose care his preceptor's wife had been entrusted during her husband's absence,) hit upon to preserve his charge from the manifold Protean disguises which the god was in the habit of assuming in order to carry out his unworthy designs; and to save the female from being " licked up by the king of the " gods, as a mischievous dog licks up the butter deposited at the sacrifice:" यथा रूचिं नावलिहेद् देवेन्द्रो भृगुसत्तम । क्रतावुपहिते न्यस्तं हविः श्वेव दुरात्मवान् । a respectful comparison, truly, to be applied to the chief of the Indian pantheon! The story ends by Vipula reproaching Indra with his disgraceful behaviour, and compelling him to retire abashed.

[10] Verse 7219. यथा समुद्रो नृपते पूर्णो मृष्टश्च वारिणा । ब्राह्मणैरभिशप्तः सन् बभूव लवनोदकः ॥

[11] Verse 7223. तालजङ्घं महाक्षत्रमौर्वेणैकेन नाशितम् ॥

[12] Verse 7225. अग्निं त्वं यजसे नित्यं कस्माद् ब्राह्मणमर्जुन । स हि सर्वस्य लोकस्य हव्यवाट् किं न वेत्सि तम् ॥

" garded Utathya as a fitting husband for her. She performed a severe penance " in order to gain him. Atri (the father of Soma, according to the Vishnu " Purana, p. 392) then sent for Utathya, and gave her to him, and he married " her in due form, offering many gifts. The god Varuṇa, however, who had " formerly been enamoured of her, came and carried her off from the hermit, " who was living on the banks of the Yamunā, and took her to his own city. " . . . . . His wife's dishonour being made known to Utathya by Nārada, he " requested the latter to go and deliver a severe message to Varuṇa: 'I " command thee to let my wife go, who was given to me by Soma; where- " fore hast thou carried her away? *Thou art a guardian of the world, not a* " *robber.*' . . . . Varuṇa answered, 'She is my beloved; I cannot bear to " give her up.' Nārada reported this answer to Utathya, and said; 'Va- " ruṇa took me by the throat, and cast me out.' Utathya was greatly " incensed, and stopped up and drank all the sea. Still Varuṇa would not " give up the female. But after some other similar displays of Utathya's " power, Varuṇa submitted himself, and brought back the sage's wife." [13]

A story is next told of the gods being conquered by the Asuras or Dānavas, and coming to earth, where they saw the sage Agastya, and applied to him for protection. This succour was granted to them by the sage, who scorched the Dānavas, expelled them from heaven and earth, and made them fly to the south.

We have then, verses 7280—7290, the following legend of Vaśishṭha: The Ādityas were performing a sacrifice, bearing Vaśishṭha in their remem-

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[13] Verses 7241 et seqq. भद्रा सोमस्य दुहिता रूपेण परमा मता। यस्यासुल्यं पतिं सोम उतथ्यं समपश्यत। सा च तीव्रं तपस्तेपे महाभागा यशस्विनी। उतथ्यार्थे तु चार्वङ्गी परं नियममास्थिता। तत आहूय सोतथ्यं ददावत्रियशस्विनीम्। भार्य्यार्थे स तु जग्राह विधिवद् भूरिदक्षिणः। तान्त्वकामयत श्रीमान् वरुणः पूर्वमेव ह। स चागम्य वनप्रस्थं यमुनायां जहार ताम्। जलेश्वरस्तु हृत्वा तामनयत् स्वपुरं प्रति ..... तत्र देवस्तया सार्द्धं रेमे राजन् जलेश्वरः। अथाख्यातमुतथ्याय ततः पत्य- वमर्हनम्। तच्छ्रुत्वा नारदात् सर्वमुतथ्यो नारदं तदा। प्रोवाच गच्छ ब्रूहि त्वं वरुणं परुषं वचः। मद्वाक्याद् मुञ्च मे भार्य्यां कस्मात् तां हृतवानसि। लोक- पालोऽसि लोकानां न लोकस्य विलुम्पकः। सोमेन दत्ता मे भार्य्या त्वया चा- पहृताऽद्य वै। ..... इति श्रुत्वा वचस्तस्य ततस्तं वरुणोऽब्रवीत्। ममैषा सुप्रिया भीरुर्नैनामुत्सहितुमुत्सहे। ..... गले गृहीत्वा क्षिप्तोऽस्मि वरुणेन महामुने ..... नारदस्य वचः श्रुत्वा क्रुद्धः प्राञ्चलदङ्गिराः। अपिबत्तेजसा वारि विष्टभ्य स महातपाः। ..... तस्मिन् संशोषिते देशे भद्रामादाय वारिपः। अददाच्छरणं गत्वा भार्य्यामाङ्गिरसाय वै॥

brance, when they were attacked by the Dānavas, who came in tens of thousands. "The gods being oppressed by them, resorted to Indra; and "he too, being harassed by their attacks, went to Vaśishtha for help. This "divine and benevolent sage gave them all his protection; and being aware "of their distress, he, without any exertion, burnt up all the Dānavas. . . . . "Thus were the gods, including Indra, preserved by Vaśishṭha, and the "Daityas slain. Such was the exploit of Vaśishṭha: can you tell me of any "Kshatriya who was superior to him?"[14] [This same question, it should be added, closes also many of the preceding and following instances of Brahmanical energy.]

A further tale is told of the sage Atri interposing to protect the gods from the oppression of their enemies.

We have next a rather curious legend about the sage Chyavana, of the race of Bhṛigu, "who, having given a promise to that effect, applied, along "with the other gods, to Indra, to allow the Aświns to partake in the Soma-"juice. Indra answered, 'How can they become drinkers of the Soma, seeing "they are contemned by us, and are not equal to the gods? We do not wish "to drink Soma in their company; but we shall accede to your wishes in any "other respect.' Chyavana repeats his request, urging that the Aświns also "were gods, and the offspring of the Sun. He adds that it will be well for "Indra if he accedes to this demand, and ill if he does not. Indra rejoins "that the other gods may do this if they please, but he cannot bring himself "to do it. Chyavana retorts that if he does not, he shall be beaten by the "sage, and made to drink Soma [with them] at the sacrifice. A ceremony "was then hastily begun by Chyavana for the benefit of the Aświns; and "the gods were vanquished by the sacred texts. Indra then uplifted a huge "rock, and rushed with his thunderbolt, and with angry eyes, on Chyavana. "The sage, however, sprinkling him with water, stopped him with his rock "and thunderbolt. He then created a fearful monster, called Mada" . . . . . at the sight of whom the gods said to Indra; "'Make salutation to Chya-"vana, and let us drink Soma along with the Aświns, and so escape from "our sufferings.' Indra then, making obeisance, granted the demand of "Chyavana; who was thus the cause of the Aświns becoming drinkers "of the Soma."[15]

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[14] Verses 7284 et seqq. ततस्तैरर्दिता देवाः शरणं वासवं ययुः । स च तैर्ब्यथितः शक्रो वसिष्ठं शरणं ययौ । ततोऽभयं ददौ तेभ्यो वशिष्ठो भगवानृषिः । तदा तान् दुःखितान् ज्ञात्वा आनृशंस्यपरो मुनिः । अयत्नेनादहत् सर्वान् खलिनः स्वेन तेजसा । . . . . . एवं सेन्द्रा वशिष्ठेन रक्षितास्त्रिदिवौकसः । . . . . . एतत् कर्म वशिष्ठेन कथितं हि मयाऽनघ । ब्रवीम्यहं ब्रूहि वा त्वं वशिष्ठात् क्षत्रियं वरम् ॥

[15] Verses 7306 et seqq. अश्विनोः प्रतिसंश्रुत्य च्यवनः पाकशासनम् । प्रोवाच

Does this legend mean that this Rishi of the Bhrigu family was the first to introduce the Aświns with the circle of the Arian worship?

Vayu relates to Arjuna yet one more instance of the irresistible power of the Brahmans: "When the gods, including Indra, had fallen into the mouth " of Mada, the earth was taken from them by Chyavana. The gods then " considering that they had lost both worlds, in their distress resorted to " Brahmā, and said: 'When we were swallowed up [?] in the mouth of Mada, " the earth was taken from us by Chyavana, and the heaven by the Kapas (a " species of demons).' Brahmā answered: 'Go speedily, ye gods, with Indra, to " the Brahmans for help. After propitiating them ye shall regain both worlds.' " They did so, and the Brahmans began a ceremony for the destruction of the " Kapas. The Kapas on this sent a messenger to the Brahmans, to say that " they were all, like them, skilled in the Vedas, learned, and offerers of sacri- " fice, all pure in their observances, and all resembling great ṛishis, &c. &c. " How then should the Brahmans be able to conquer them? It would be " more for their interest to desist from the attempt. The Brahmans, how- " ever, would not be persuaded; and when, in consequence, the Kapas " assailed them, they hurled forth fires by which the Kapas were destroyed. " Learning from Nārada that this had been effected, the gods sang the " praises of the illustrious Brahmans." [16] Arjuna hearing of all these terrible

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सहितो देवैः सोमपावश्विनौ कुरु । इन्द्र उवाच । अस्माभिर्निन्दितावेतौ भवेतां सोमपौ कथम् । देवैर्न सम्मितावेतौ तस्माद् मैवं वदस्व नः । अश्विभ्यां सह नेच्छामः सोमं पातुं महाव्रत । यदन्यद् वक्ष्यसे विप्र तत् करिष्याम ते वचः । च्यवन उवाच । पिवेतामश्विनौ सोमं भवद्भिः सहितावुभौ । उभावेतावपि सुरौ सूर्यपुत्रौ सुरेश्वर । क्रियतां मद्वचो देवा यथा वै समुदाहृतम् । एतद् वः कुर्वतां श्रेयो भवेद् नैतदकुर्वताम् । इन्द्र उवाच । अश्विभ्यां सह सोमं वै न पास्यामि द्विजोत्तम । पिवन्त्वन्ये यथाकामं नाहं पातुमिहोत्सहे । च्यवन उवाच । न चेत् करिष्यसि वचो मयोक्तं बलसूदन । मया प्रमथितः सद्यः सोमं पास्यसि वै मखे । वायुरुवाच । ततः कर्म समारब्धं हिताय सहसाऽश्विनोः । च्यवनेन ततो मन्त्रैर- भिभूताः सुराऽभवन् । तच्च कर्म समारब्धं दृष्ट्वेन्द्रः क्रोधमूर्च्छितः । उद्यम्य विपुलं शैलं च्यवनं समुपाद्रवत् । तथा वज्रेण भगवान् अमर्षाकुललोचनः । तमापतन्तं दृष्ट्वैव च्यवनस्तपसाऽन्वितः । अद्रिः सिक्ताऽस्तम्भयत् तं सवज्रं सहपर्वतम् । अथेन्द्रस्य महाघोरं सोऽसृजच्छत्रुमेव हि । ..... ते सम्मन्त्र्य ततो देवा मदस्यास्य समीपगाः । अब्रुवन् सहिताः शक्रं प्रणमास्मै द्विजातये । अश्विभ्यां सह सोमञ्च पिबाम विगतज्वराः । ततः स प्रणतः शक्रश्चकार च्यवनस्य तत् । च्यवनः कृतवाने- तावश्विनौ सोमपायिनौ ॥

[16] Verse 7327. मदस्यास्यमनुप्राप्ता यदा सेन्द्रा दिवौकसः । तदैव च्यवनेनेह हृता तेषां वसुन्धरा । उभौ लोकौ हृतौ मत्वा ते देवा दुःखिता भृशम् । शो-

testimonies to the might of the Brahmans, at length gives in, saying: "I "live altogether and always for the Brahmans. I am devoted to the Brah- "mans, and do obeisance to them continually." [17] Vayu then says to him: "Protect the Brahmans, fulfilling a Kshatriya's function; and restrain "your senses. A dreadful cause of apprehension impends over you from "the Bhṛigus, which shall take effect in due time." [18]

In the Anusāsana Parva, Sections 52 et seqq., we have the story of Paraśurāma, in connexion with that of Viśwāmitra, yet once more handled. Yudhishṭhira says he is very curious to know something more about these two personages. "How was this valiant Rāma, descended from the family "of a Brahman-rishi, born with the qualities of a Kshatriya? Tell me the "whole story: and how did a Brahman spring from the Kshatriya race of "Kuśika? Great was the majesty of Rāma, and of Viśwāmitra. How did "it happen that, passing over the sons of Richīka and Kuśika, this defect "showed itself in their grandsons?" [19] Then there ensues a long dialogue between king Kuśika and the sage Chyavana. The latter, it seems, "fore-

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कार्त्तास्त्र महात्मानो ब्रह्मणं शरणं ययुः। देवा ऊचुः। मदास्यव्यतिसिक्तानामस्माकं लोकपूजित। च्यवनेन हृता भूमिः कपैश्चैव दिवं प्रभो। ब्रह्मोवाच। गच्छध्वं शरणं विप्रानाशु सेन्द्रा दिवौकसः। प्रसाद्य तानुभौ लोकावाप्स्यथ यथा पुरा। ..... भवद्भिः सदृशाः सर्वे कपाः किमिह वर्त्तते। सर्वे वेदविदः प्राज्ञाः सर्वे च क्रतुयाजिनः। सर्वे सत्यव्रताश्चैव सर्वे तुल्या महर्षिभिः। ..... एतैश्चान्यैश्च बहुभिर्गुणैर्युक्तान् कथं कपान्। विजेष्यथ निवर्त्तध्वं निवृत्तानां शुभं हि वः। ..... गृहीत्वाऽस्त्राण्यतो विप्रान् कपाः सर्वे समाद्रवन्। समुद्रगध्वजान् दृष्ट्वा कपान् सर्वे द्विजातयः। व्यसृजन् ज्वलितानग्नीन् कपानां प्राणनाशनान्। ब्रह्मसृष्टा हव्यभुजः कपान् हत्वा सनातनाः। नभसीव यथाऽभ्राणि व्यराजन्त नराधिप। ..... नारदस्य वचः श्रुत्वा प्रीताः सर्वे दिवौकसः। प्रशशंसुर्द्विजांश्चापि ब्राह्मणांश्च यशस्विनः॥

[17] Verses 7350 et seqq. अर्जुन उवाच। जीवाम्यहं ब्राह्मणार्थं सर्वथा सततं प्रभो। ब्रह्मण्यो ब्राह्मणेभ्यश्च प्रणमामि च नित्यशः॥

[18] Verse 7353. वायुरुवाच। ब्राह्मणान् क्षात्रधर्मेण पालयस्वेन्द्रियाणि च। भृगुभ्यस्ते भयं घोरं तच्च कालाद् भविष्यति॥

[19] Anuśāsana Parva, verse 2718. कथमेष समुत्पन्नो रामः सत्यपराक्रमः। कथं ब्रह्मर्षिवंशोऽयं क्षत्रधर्मा व्यजायत। तदस्य सम्भवं राजन्निखिलेनानुकीर्त्तय। कौशिकाच्च कथं वंशात् क्षत्राद् वै ब्राह्मणोऽभवत्। अहो प्रभावः सुमहानासीद् वै सुमहात्मनः। रामस्य च नरव्याघ्र विश्वामित्रस्य चैव हि। कथं पुत्रानतिक्रम्य तेषां नप्तृष्वधाभवत्। एष दोषः सुतान् हित्वा तत्त्वं व्याख्यातुमर्हसि॥

" seeing that disgrace was about to befall his race from connexion with the " Kuśikas, and entertaining, in consequence, the desire of burning up that " whole family,"[20] came to Kuśika. Chyavana then makes king Kuśika and his wife perform many menial offices, rub his feet, attend while he sleeps, bring him food, and draw him in a chariot, while he lacerates their backs with a goad. All this is submitted to so patiently, that the sage is propitiated, touches their backs with his godlike hands, and soothes their minds. After creating a magic palace, with all the accompaniments of pleasure, in order to give them a conception of heaven, the sage offers to bestow any boon the king may choose; and to solve any of his doubts. Kuśika asks the reason of the sage's unaccountable procedure. Chyavana answers that he had heard from Brahmā that there would be " a confusion of " classes in consequence of the hostility of Brahmans and Kshatriyas, and " that a grandson of great glory would be born to Kuśika:"[21] that consequently he had come to burn up the race of the Kuśikas, but that the king had come so well out of the severe ordeal to which he had been subjected, that the sage had become thoroughly pacified, and would grant the boon which Kuśika desired. " This thy desire shall be fulfilled; from " a Kauśika a Kauśika Brahman shall arise: in the third generation thy " race shall attain to Brahmanhood. By the might of the Bhṛigus thy " son's son shall become a twice-born man, a devotee, splendid as fire, who " shall alarm both gods and men."[22] Kuśika being anxious to know how all this was to be brought to pass, Chyavana informs him: " The Bhṛigus " have always been the priests of the Kshatriyas; but these will become " hostile to each other for a fated reason. The Kshatriyas shall slay all " the Bhṛigus, even to children in the womb, being pressed by a divine " nemesis. Then shall arise the glorious Ūrva, like the sun in splendour, " who shall augment the glory of our race. He shall create a fire of wrath " for the destruction of the three worlds, which shall reduce the earth with " its mountains and forests to ashes. His son Ṛichīka shall be inspired by " the entire *Dhanur-Veda* (science of archery), for the destined destruction of

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[20] Verses 2723, 2724. एतं दोषं पुरा दृष्ट्वा भार्गवश्च्यवनस्तदा । आगामिनं महाबुद्धिः स्ववंशे मुनिसत्तमः । . . . . . दग्धुकामः कुलं सर्वं कुशिकानां तपोधनः । &c.

[21] Verse 2878. ब्रह्मक्षत्रविरोधेन भविता कुलसङ्करः । पौत्रस्ते भविता राजंस्तेजोवीर्यसमन्वितः ॥

[22] Verse 2897. भविष्यत्येष ते कामः कौशिकात् कौशिको द्विजः । तृतीयं पुरुषं तुभ्यं ब्राह्मण्यं गमिष्यति । वंशस्ते पार्थिवश्रेष्ठ भृगूणामेव तेजसा । पौत्रस्ते भविता विप्रस्तपस्वी पावकद्युतिः । यः सदेवमनुष्याणां भयमुत्पादयिष्यति ॥

" the Kshatriyas. This science he shall transmit to his great son Jamadagni, " whose mind shall be calmed by devotion, and who shall possess that " Veda. He shall obtain [for his wife] a maiden of thy family, to prolong " thy race. This great devotee, wedding thy granddaughter, the daughter " of Gādhi, shall beget a Brahman, fulfilling the functions of a Kshatriya; " and shall bestow on thy family a Kshatriya who shall perform the func- " tions of a Brahman, Viśwāmitra the son of Gādhi, an austere devotee, and " glorious as Vṛihaspati. The two wives shall be the cause of this interchange " of characters. According to the decree of Brahmā all this shall so happen. " Brahmanhood shall come to thee in the third generation, and thou shalt " become connected with the calm-souled Bhṛigus." [23] All this was accordingly fulfilled in the births of Paraśurāma and Viśwāmitra, and thus the families of the Bhrigus and Kuśikas were united. [24]

Is this legend intended to account for a real fact? Was Paraśurama of a sacerdotal tribe, and yet by profession a warrior, just as Viśwāmitra was conversely of royal extraction, and yet a priest by profession?

According to the Vishnu Purana, IV. 11. 3, (Wilson, pp. 416, 417,) Arjuna was of the race of Yadu, and the ninth in descent from Haihaya, the great-grandson of that prince. It is there said of him: " From Kṛita- " vīrya sprang Arjuna, who was lord of the seven *dwīpas*, [circular and

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[23] Verses 2905 et seqq. भृगूणां क्षत्रिया याज्या नित्यमेतज्जनाधिप। ते च भेदं गमिष्यन्ति दैवयुक्तेन हेतुना। क्षत्रियाश्च भृगून् सर्वान् वधिष्यन्ति नराधिप। आगभी-दनुकृत्तन्नो दैवदण्डनिपीडिताः। तत उत्पत्स्यतेऽस्माकं कुलगोत्रविवर्द्धनः। ऊर्वो नाम महातेजा ज्वलनार्कसमद्युतिः। स त्रैलोक्यविनाशाय कोपाग्निं जनयिष्यति। महीं सपर्वतवनां यः करिष्यति भस्मसात्। . . . पुत्रं तस्य महाराज ऋचीकं भृगुनन्दनम्। साक्षात् कृत्स्नो धनुर्वेदः समुपस्यास्यतेऽनघ। क्षत्रियाणामभावाय देवयुक्तेन हेतुना। स तु तं प्रतिगृह्यैव पुत्रे संक्रामयिष्यति। जमदग्नौ महाभागे तपसा भावितात्मनि। स चापि भृगुशार्दूलस्तं वेदं धारयिष्यति। कुलात्तु तव धर्मात्मन् कन्यां सोऽभिग-मिष्यति। उद्भावनार्थं भवतो वंशस्य भरतर्षभ। गाधेर्दुहितरं प्राप्य पौत्रीं तव महातपाः। ब्राह्मणं क्षत्रधर्माणं पुत्रमुत्पादयिष्यति। क्षत्रियं विप्रधर्माणं वृहत्स्थि-तिमिवौजसा। विश्वामित्रं तव कुले गाधेः पुत्रं सुधार्मिकम्। तपसा महता युक्तं प्रदास्यति महाद्युते। स्त्रियौ तु कारणं तत्र परिवर्त्ते भविष्यतः। पितामहनियोगाद् वै नान्यथैतद् भविष्यति। तृतीये पुरुषे तुभ्यं ब्राह्मणत्वमुपैष्यति। भविता त्वञ्च सम्बन्धी भृगूणां भावितात्मनाम्॥

[24] Verses 2923 et seqq. एतत्ते कथितं सर्वमशेषेण मया नृप। भृगूणां कुशि-कानाञ्च अभिसम्बन्धकारणम्। यथोक्तमृषिणा चापि तदा तदभवद् नृप। जन्म रामस्य च मुनेर्विश्वामित्रस्य चैव हि॥

"concentric continents of which the earth is composed,] and had a thou-
"sand arms. . . . By him this earth, with all its *dwīpas*, was perfectly
"governed. . . . To this day this verse is repeated respecting him: 'No
"other king shall ever equal Kṛitavīrya in regard to sacrifices, liberality,
"austerities, courtesy, and self-restraint.' . . . . At the end of his reign of
"eighty-five thousand years he was destroyed by Paraśurāma, who was a
"portion of the divine Nārāyana." [25]

The Bhāgavata Purana, IX. 23. 20—27, assigns to him the same descent, and relates of him nearly the same particulars: "Arjuna was the son of "Kṛitavīrya, and ruler of the seven *dwīpas*. He obtained the great attri-"bute of *Yoga* (supernatural powers arising from devotion) from Dattā-"trēya, who was a portion of Hari. Five of his thousand sons survived [?] "in the battle [with Paraśurāma], viz. Jayadhwaja, Śūrasēna, Vrishabha, "Madhu, and Ūrjita. The son of Jayadhwaja was Tālajangha, who had a "hundred sons. The Kshatriyas called Tālajanghas were destroyed by the "might of Aurva." [26] The Scholiast explains the last clause by saying: "They were destroyed by Sagara, through the might of Aurva." [27] The story of Sagara will be narrated in the next chapter. (See also Vishnu Purana, p. 290, note 1, and pp. 373—375.) Aurva is thus connected both with the legend which forms the subject of the present section, and with that of Sagara.

In the Mahābhārata, Ādi Parva, verse 2610, (I may add here,) we have the parentage of Aurva thus specified: "Ārushī, the daughter of Manu, "was the wife of this sage [Chyavana, son of Bhṛigu]: the illustrious "Aurva was born of her, having separated his mother's thigh." [28] In the

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[25] Vish. Pur. IV. 11. 3. कृतवीर्य्याद् अर्जुनः सप्तद्वीपपतिर्बाहुसहस्री जज्ञे । . . . तेनेयमशेषद्वीपवती पृथ्वी सम्यक् परिपालिता । . . . . . तस्य च श्लोकोऽद्यापि गीयते । न नूनं कार्त्तवीर्य्यस्य गतिं यास्यन्ति पार्थिवाः । यज्ञैर्दानैस्तपोभिर्वा प्रश्रयेण दमेन च ॥ . . . . . यः पञ्चाशीतिवर्षसहस्रोपलक्षणकालावसाने भगवन्नारायणांशेन परशुरामेणोपसंहृतः ॥

[26] Bhāg. Pur. IX. 23, verses 23 et seqq. अर्जुनः कृतवीर्य्यस्य सप्तद्वीपेश्वरोऽभवत् । दत्तात्रेयाद् हरेरंशात् प्राप्तयोगमहागुणः । . . . तस्य पुत्रसहस्रेषु पञ्चैवोर्वरिता मृधे । जयध्वजः शूरसेनो वृषभो मधुरूर्जितः । जयध्वजात् तालजङ्घस्तस्य पुत्रशतं त्वभूत् । क्षत्रं यत् तालजङ्घाख्यम् और्वतेजोपसंहृतम् ॥

[27] और्वस्य तेजसा सगरेणोपसंहृतम् ॥

[28] Mahābhārata, I. 2610. आरुषी तु मनोः कन्या तस्य पत्नी मनीषिणः । और्वस्तस्यां समभवद् ऊरुं भित्त्वा महायशाः ॥

Harivansa, verse 1456, he seems to be identified with Ṛichīka, father of Jamadagni,[29] Ṛichīka being *Aurva*, or the son of Ūrva, as in the long passage quoted above in pp. 169—171, from the 52d Section of the Anuśāsana Parva of the Mahabharata.

Professor Roth has adduced from the Aitarēya Brahmana a passage in which a personage named Rāma is introduced as taking the part of a priestly family, the Śyāparṇas, with whom he was in some way connected, and inducing a king called Viśwantara to employ them at his sacrifices: "Viś-"wantara, the son of Sushadman, eluding the Śyāparṇas, was performing "a sacrifice without their aid. The Śyāparṇas, hearing this, came to the "sacrifice, and sat down within the sacrificial ground. Seeing them he "(Viśwantara) said, 'There sit the doers of evil deeds: since the Śyāparṇas "are speakers of impure language, remove them; they are sitting within "my sacrificial ground.' In obedience to his command they removed "them. As they were being driven away, they exclaimed, 'When Janamē-"jaya, son of Parikshit, was performing a sacrifice without the Kaśyapas, "the Asitamṛiga Kaśyapas conquered the Soma-juice for the Bhūtavīras, "—who found champions in the former. Will any one be our cham-"pion, and conquer for us this Soma-juice? 'I am your champion,' said "Rāma Mārgavēya, (descendant of Mṛigu,) who was learned in sacred "knowledge, and connected with the Śyāparṇas. When the Śyāparṇas "were being removed, he said, 'Do they, o king, send away from the altar "one who possesses such knowledge?'"[30] The king entered into a con-

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[29] Harivanśa, verse 1456. और्वस्यैवमृचीकस्य &c.

[30] Aitarēya Brāhmana, VII. 27. विश्वन्तरो ह सौपन्नः श्यापर्णान् परिचक्षाणो विश्यापर्णं यज्ञमाजह्रे तद् ह अनुबध्य श्यापर्णास्तं यज्ञमाजग्मुः। ते ह तदन्तर्वेद्यासाञ्चक्रिरे। तान् ह दृष्ट्वोवाच पापस्य वा इमे कर्मणः कर्त्तार आसते पूताया वाचो वदितारो यच्छ्यापर्णा इमानुत्थापयत इमे मेऽन्तर्वेदिमासिषतेति। तथेति तानुत्थापयाञ्चक्रुः। ते होत्थाप्यमाना रुरुविरे ये तेभ्यो भूतवीरेभ्योऽसितमृगाः कश्यपाः सोमपीथमभिजिग्युः पारिक्षितस्य जनमेजयस्य विकश्यपे यज्ञे तैस्ते तत्र वीरवन्त आसुः कस्मिन् सोऽस्माकास्ति वीरो य इमं सोमपीथमभिजेष्यतीति। अयमहमस्मि वो वीर इति होवाच रामो मार्गवेयो रामो ह स मार्गवेयोऽनूचानः श्यापर्णीयः। तेषां होज्जिष्टतां होवाचापि नु राजन्नित्थंदिं वेदेरुत्थापयन्तीति॥ Weber thinks the words "doers of evil deeds" refer to some difference of ceremonial peculiar to the Śyāparnas, and the words "speakers "of impure language" to a difference in their dialect: and he is inclined to derive the patronymic of Rāma, Mārgavēya, from the impure caste of Mārgavas mentioned in Manu, X. 34; by which supposition, he thinks, a

versation with this intercessor, received from him proofs of his liturgical qualifications, and concluded with the words: "We give thee a thousand "(cows, according to the commentator), o Brahman, and the Śyāparnas "shall be constantly present at my sacrifices." (Litt. und Geschichte des Weda, pp. 118, 119.)

Whether the Rāma here mentioned is the same as the Paraśurāma of the later legends, is not clear. Lassen considers him to be the same (Indische Alterthumskunde, I. 719); but Weber (Indische Studien, I. 215, 216, note) observes that his patronymic, Mārgavēya, is opposed to this supposition. However that may be, this passage from the Aitarēya Brahmana appears to depict a struggle between the Brahmans and the Kshatriyas, the latter wishing to conduct their religious ceremonies without the aid of the former, while the Brahmans insist on their right to take a leading part in all such observances.

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# CHAPTER IV.

## RELATION OF THE BRAHMANICAL INDIANS TO THE NEIGHBOURING TRIBES, ACCORDING TO MANU AND THE PURĀNAS.

I NOW propose to enquire what account the Indian writers give of the origin of those tribes which are not comprehended in their own polity, but with which, as dwelling within, or adjacent to, the boundaries of Hindustan, their countrymen were, in ancient times, brought into constant and familiar contact.

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ground would be discovered for the objection which Viśwantara makes to the Śyāparna family. In reference to the story of Janamējaya, alluded to in this passage, Weber remarks (Ind. Stud. I. 204): "The same work (the "Aitarēya Brahmana, VII. 27) makes mention of a dispute which this king "had with the sacerdotal family of the Bhūtavīras, a branch of the Kaś-"yapas; and which was adjusted by the intervention of the Asitamṛigas, "who belonged to the same race." I have preferred the sense here indicated by Weber to that given by Roth in his version of the passage.

It appears to have been the opinion of Manu, the great authority in all matters regarding the Hindu religion and institutions in their full development, that there was no original race of men except the four castes of Brahmans, Kshatriyas, Vaiśyas, and Śūdras; and that all other nations were derived from these. His own words (X. 4) are these: "Three castes, "the Brahman, the Kshatriya, and the Vaisya, are twice-born; the fourth, "the Sudra, is once-born; and there is no fifth."[1] On the last clause of this verse Kullūka Bhaṭṭa annotates thus: "There is no fifth caste; for "caste cannot be predicated of the mixed tribes, seeing that, like mules, "they belong to another species distinct from that of their father and "mother. And this reference which is made in the Śastras to other castes "is merely for the sake of conformity to common usage."[2]

Accordingly, in the following description which Manu gives in the same chapter (the Xth) of the rise of the inferior castes, they are all, even the very lowest, such as Nishādas and Chaṇḍālas, derived from the mixture of the four, so called, original castes. Thus, in verse 8: "From a Brahman "father and a Vaisya mother springs an Ambashṭha: from a Brahman "father and a Sudra mother is born a Nishāda, called also Parāśava."[3]

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[1] Manu, X. 4. ब्राह्मणः क्षत्रियो वैश्यस्त्रयो वर्णा द्विजातयः । चतुर्थ एकजातिस्तु शूद्रो नास्ति तु पञ्चमः ॥

[2] Kullūka on the latter part of this verse: पञ्चमः पुनर्वर्णो नास्ति सङ्कीर्णजातीनां त्वश्वतरवद् मातापितृजातिव्यतिरिक्तजात्यन्तरत्वाद् न वर्णत्वं । अयञ्च जात्यन्तरोपदेशो शास्त्रे संव्यवहरणार्थम् ॥

[3] Manu, X. 8. ब्राह्मणाद् वैश्यकन्यायामम्बष्ठो नाम जायते । निषादः शूद्रकन्यायां यः पराशव उच्यते ॥ It does not appear how the account of the origin of the Nishāda race from king Veṇa, given above in pp. 62 and 64, can be reconciled with this theory of Manu. If the Vedic expressions पञ्चजनाः and the other corresponding phrases signifying "the five men" be rightly interpreted of the *four castes*, and the *Nishādas*, we might understand this as intimating that the Nishādas had *at one time* been regarded as a distinct race. But the phrase is variously understood by the old Vedic commentators; as appears from the Nirukta, III. 8, where Yāska says: पञ्च जनाः ..... गन्धर्वाः पितरो देवा असुरा रक्षांसीत्येके । चत्वारो वर्णा निषादः पञ्चम इत्यौपमन्यवः । "Some say the phrase de-"notes the [five classes of beings] Gandharvas, Pitṛis, gods, Asuras, "and Rakshasas. Aupămănyăva says it designates the four castes, with "the Nishādas for a fifth class, &c." Böhtlingk and Roth, sub voce

Again, in verse 12: "From a Sudra, by women of the Vaisya, Kshatriya, "and Brahman castes are born those mixed classes, the Ayōgava, the "Kshattṛi, and the Chāṇḍāla, lowest of men."[4] Again, in verse 20: "Persons whom the twice-born beget on women of their own classes, but "who omit the prescribed rites, and have abandoned the gāyătrī, are to "be designated as Vrātyas."[5] In the next three verses the inferior tribes which spring from the Brahman Vrātya, the Kshatriya Vrātya, and the Vaisya Vrātya respectively, are enumerated.

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कृष्टिः, say that the words denote the people of all nations, and not merely the Arian tribes; but that no clear explanation of their purport can be deduced from the Vedic texts. See Roth's note (Erläuterungen, p. 28) on the text of the Rig Veda to which the above passage from the Nirukta refers. He there remarks: "The conception of the *five races*, which ori- "ginally comprehended all mankind (compare पञ्च क्षितयः, कृष्टयः, चर्षणयः, "भूम), is here transferred to the totality of the gods. Hence also arise the "different modes of explanation, if an attempt is made to shew *what* the "number [five] indicates. The Aitareya Brahmana says, 3. 31: पाञ्चज- "न्यमेतदुक्थं यद् वैश्वदेवं सर्वेषां वा एतत् पञ्च जनानामुक्थं देवमनुष्याणां "गन्धर्वाप्सरसां सर्पाणाञ्च पितॄणाञ्च। 'This *uktha*, addressed to the Viswe- "dēvas, is addressed to [?] all the five classes, viz. gods, men, Gandharvas, "Apsarasas, serpents, and Pitṛis.'" Here, however, if I have translated rightly, (Roth gives no translation,) there are *six* classes of beings mentioned. See also Weber's remark above, p. 136, note.

[4] Manu, X. 12. शूद्राद् आयोगवः क्षत्ता चाण्डालश्चाधमो नृणाम्। वैश्यरा- जन्यविप्रासु जायन्ते वर्णसङ्कराः॥

[5] Manu, X. 20. द्विजातयः सवर्णासु जनयन्व्रतांस्तु यान्। तान् सावित्री- परिभ्रष्टान् व्रात्या इति विनिर्दिशेत्॥

Manu says, II. 38, 39: आषोडशाद् ब्राह्मणस्य सावित्री नातिवर्त्तते। आद्वा- विंशात् क्षत्रबन्धोराचतुर्विंशतेर्विशः। अत ऊर्द्धं त्रयोऽप्येते यथाकालमसंस्कृताः। सावित्रीपतिता व्रात्या भवन्त्यार्य्यविगर्हिताः। "The gāyatrī should not, in the "case of a Brahman, be deferred beyond the sixteenth year; nor in the "case of a Kshatriya beyond the twenty-second; nor in that of a Vaiśya "beyond the twenty-fourth. After these periods youths of the three classes "who have not been invested, become fallen from the gāyatrī, *Vrātyas*, "contemned by respectable men (*Aryyas*)."

In the following verse of the Mahābhārata, Anuśāsana Parva, line

In verses 43 and 44 it is stated that the following tribes were originally Kshatriyas, "but have gradually sunk to the state of Vṛishalas (=Sudras), "from the extinction of sacred rites, and from having no communication "with Brahmans; viz. Pauṇḍrakas, Oḍras, Draviḍas, Kāmbojas, Yavanas, "Śakas, Pāradas, Pahlavas, Chīnas, Kirātas, Daradas, and Khaśas."[6]

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2621, a different origin is ascribed to the Vrātyas: चाण्डालो व्रात्यवैद्यौ च ब्राह्मण्यां क्षत्रियासु च । वैश्यायाञ्चैव शूद्रस्य लक्ष्यन्तेऽपसदास्त्रयः । "The "three outcaste classes are the Chāṇḍāla, the Vrātya, and the Vaidya, be- "gotten by a Śūdra on females of the Brahman, Kshatriya, and Vaiśya "castes respectively." A Vrātya therefore, according to this account, is the son of a Sudra man and a Kshatriya woman.

On the Vrātyas, see Weber's Indische Studien, I. 33. 52. 138, 139. 445, 446, &c. The distinction between the *Vrātyas* and the *Dasyus* does not seem to be very strongly defined by Manu, except that he makes the latter to be degraded *Kshatriyas* only. But if, as Weber imagines (Indische Studien, I. 33), the Vrātyas be of Arian descent, while we assume the Dasyus to be, in part at least, of another stock and language, (see verse 45,) we shall be able to understand why Manu treats of them separately.

[6] Manu, X. 43, 44. शनकैस्तु क्रियालोपाद् इमाः क्षत्रियजातयः । वृषलत्वं गता लोके ब्राह्मणादर्शनेन च । पौण्ड्रकाश्चौड्द्रविडाः काम्बोजा यवनाः शकाः । पारदाः पह्लवाश्चीनाः किराता दरदाः खशाः ॥ The same thing is affirmed in the Mahābhārata, Anuśāsana Parva, verses 2103 et seqq.: शका यवनकाम्बोजास्ताताः क्षत्रियजातयः । वृषलत्वं परिगता ब्राह्मणानामदर्शनात् । द्राविडाश्च कलिन्दाश्च पुलिन्दाश्चाप्युशीनराः । कोलिसर्पा माहिषकास्तातास्ताः क्षत्रियजातयः । वृषलत्वं परिगता ब्राह्मणानामदर्शनात् ॥ "These tribes of Kshatriyas, viz. "Śakas, Yavanas, Kāmbojas, Draviḍas, Kalindas, Pulindas, Uśīnaras, Kōli- "sarpas, and Māhishakas, have become Sudras from seeing no Brah- "mans." This is repeated in verses 2158—9, where the following additional tribes are named; Mēkalas, Lāṭas, Kōnwaśiras, Śaundīkas, Darvas, Chauras, Śavaras, and Barbaras: and the cause of degradation is, as in verse 2103, restricted to the absence of Brahmans. The Brahmans are then glorified in the following strain, verses 2160—2: ब्राह्मणानां परिभवादसुराः सलिले शयाः । ब्राह्मणानां प्रसादाच्च देवा स्वर्गनिवासिनः । अशक्यं सङ्गमाकाशम् अचाल्यो हिमवान् गिरिः । अधार्य्या सेतुना गङ्गा दुर्जया ब्राह्मणा भुवि । न ब्राह्मणविरोधेन शक्या शास्तुं वसुन्धरा । ब्राह्मणा हि महात्मानो देवानामपि देवताः ॥ "From "the hostility of the Brahmans the Asuras were prostrated on the waters; "by the favour of the Brahmans the gods inhabit heaven. The æther

These verses are succeeded by the following: "Those tribes which are "outside of the classes produced from the mouth, arms, thighs, and feet, "[of Brahmā, i. e. Brahmans, Kshatriyas, Vaisyas, and Sudras,] whether "they speak the language of the Mlechhas or of the Āryas, are called "*Dasyus*."[7] The interpretation to be given to this verse turns upon the sense which we assign to "outside" (*vāhĭs*). Does it mean that the Dasyus are of a stock *originally distinct* from that of the four primeval castes, and therefore altogether separate from those tribes which sprang from the intermixture of the four castes, or which, by the neglect of sacred rites, apostatized from their communion? Or does it merely mean that the Dasyus became eventually excluded from the fellowship of the four castes? If the latter sense be adopted, the Dasyu will be merely a general term embracing all the tribes enumerated in verses 43 and 44. The commentator Kulluka understands the word in the latter sense. His words are; "All the tribes "which by loss of sacred rites, and so forth, have become outcasts from "the pale of the four castes, Brahmans, Kshatriyas, Vaisyas, and Sudras; "whether they speak the language of the Mlechhas or of the Āryas, are "called *Dasyus*."[8] His view is confirmed by the short passage from the Aitareya Brahmana, quoted above (p. 84); where Viśwāmitra, speaking to his sons, says: "'Your descendants shall become degraded;'" and the author of the Brahmana adds; "They are the Andhras, Puṇḍras, Śabaras,

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"cannot be created; the mountain Himavat cannot be shaken; the Ganges "cannot be stemmed by a dam; the Brahmans cannot be overcome upon "earth. The world cannot be governed in opposition to the Brahmans; "for the mighty Brahmans are the deities even of the gods."

The Yavanas are said in the Mahābhārata, Ādi Parva, Sect. 85, verse 3533, "to be descended from Turvasu, the Vaibhōjas from Druhyu, and "the Mlechha tribes from Anu:" यदोस्तु यादवा जातास्तुर्वसोर्यवनाः स्मृताः। द्रुह्योः सुतास्तु वैभोजा अनोस्तु म्लेच्छजातयः॥ Is it meant by this that the Yavanas are not to be reckoned among the Mlechhas? Their descent from Turvasu is not necessarily in conflict with the assertion of the authorities above quoted, that they are degraded Kshatriyas.

I shall not at present attempt to determine *who* the Yavanas, and other tribes mentioned in the text, were.

[7] Manu, X. 45. मुखबाहूरुपज्जानां या लोके जातयो बहिः। म्लेच्छवाचश्चार्य्यवाचः सर्वे ते दस्यवः स्मृताः॥

[8] Kullūka on the preceding verse: ब्राह्मणक्षत्रियवैश्यशूद्राणां क्रियालोपादिना या जातयो बाह्या जाता म्लेच्छभाषायुक्ता आर्य्यभाषोपेता वा ते दस्यवः सर्वे स्मृताः॥

" Pulindas, Mutivas, numerous frontier tribes, most of the Dasyus being " sprung from Viśwāmitra." [9] Here the writer of this ancient Brāhmaṇa connects together certain tribes named either in Manu, or in the Mahābhārata, as degraded Kshatriyas, with the appellation *Dasyu*, thus intimating that the latter was a general name embracing all the former. This view is further confirmed by the following lines of the Mahābhārata, Book II, verses 1031—2 : " The son of Indra conquered the Daradas with the " Kāmbojas, and the Dasyus who dwell in the north-east region : " [10] and still more by the annexed verses from the Droṇa Parva of the same great Epic : " Śainēya, exerting thy might, converted the beautiful earth into a " mass of mud, with the flesh and blood of thousands of Kāmbojas, Śakas, " Śabaras, Kirātas, and Varvaras. The ground was covered with the shorn " and bearded heads of the Dasyus, and their helmets, as if with birds bereft " of their plumes." [11] Here the word *Dasyu* is evidently a general term for the tribes named just before.

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[9] See the original passage in p. 84, note 54.

[10] Mahābhārata, Book II. verses 1031—2. दरदान् सह काम्बोजैरजयत् पाकशासनिः । प्रागुत्तरां दिशं ये च वसन्त्याश्रित्य दस्यवः ॥

[11] Ibid. Droṇa Parva. काम्बोजानां सहस्रैश्च शकानाञ्च विशाम्यते । शबराणां किरातानां बर्बराणां तथैव च । अगम्यरूपां पृथिवीं मांसशोणितकर्दमाम् । कृतवांस्त्वं शैनेयः क्षपयंस्तावकं बलम् । दस्यूनां सशिरस्त्राणैः शिरोभिर्लूनमूर्द्धजैः । दीर्घकूर्चैर्महीकीर्णा विबर्हैरण्डजैरिव ॥ There is a passage in the Śānti Parva, Section 65, lines 2429 et seqq., which is worth quoting, as it shows that the Brahmans of that age regarded the Dasyus as owing allegiance to Brahmanical institutions. King Māndhātṛi had performed a sacrifice in the hope of obtaining a vision of Vishṇu; who accordingly appeared to him in the form of Indra. The following is part of their conversation. Māndhātṛi asks: यवना किराता गान्धाराश्चीनाः शबरबर्बराः । शकास्तुषाराः कङ्काश्च पह्लवाश्चान्ध्रमद्रकाः । पौण्ड्राः पुलिन्दा रमठाः काम्बोजाश्चैव सर्वशः । ब्रह्मक्षत्रप्रसूताश्च वैश्याः शूद्राश्च मानवाः । कथं धर्मांश्चरिष्यन्ति सर्वे विषयवासिनः । मद्विधैश्च कथं स्थाप्याः सर्वे वै दस्युजीविनः । एतदिच्छाम्यहं श्रोतुं भगवंस्तद् ब्रवीहि मे । त्वं बन्धुभूतो ह्यस्माकं क्षत्रियाणां सुरेश्वर । इन्द्र उवाच । मातापित्रोर्हि शुश्रूषा कर्त्तव्या सर्वदस्युभिः । आचार्यगुरुशुश्रूषा तथैवाश्रमवासिनाम् । भूमिपानाञ्च शुश्रूषा कर्त्तव्या सर्वदस्युभिः । वेदधर्मक्रियाश्चैव तेषां धर्मो विधीयते । पितृयज्ञास्तथा कूपाः प्रपाश्च शयनानि च । दानानि च यथाकालं द्विजेभ्यो विसृजेत् सदा । अहिंसा सत्यमक्रोधो वृत्तिदायानुपालनम् । भरणं पुत्रदाराणां शौचमद्रोह एव च । दक्षिणा सर्वयज्ञानां दातव्या भूतिमिच्छता । पाक-

In the Vishnu Purana, Bhāratavarsha (India) is said to "have its eastern "border occupied by the Kirātas; and the western by the Yavanas; while

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यज्ञा महाहीश्च दातव्याः सर्वदस्युभिः । एतान्येवम्प्रकाराणि विहितानि पुराऽनघ । सर्वलोकस्य कर्माणि कर्त्तव्यानीह पार्थिव । मान्धातोवाच । दृश्यन्ते मानुषे लोके सर्ववर्णेषु दस्यवः । लिङ्गान्तरे वर्त्तमाना आश्रमेषु चतुर्ष्वपि । इन्द्र उवाच । विनष्टायां दण्डनीत्यां राजधर्मे निराकृते । सम्प्रमुह्यन्ति भूतानि राजदौरात्म्यतोऽनघ । असंख्याता भविष्यन्ति भिक्षवो लिङ्गिनस्तथा । आश्रमाणां विकल्पाश्च निवृत्तेऽस्मिन् कृते युगे । अशृण्वानाः पुराणानां धर्माणां परमा गतीः । उत्पथं प्रतिपत्स्यन्ते काममन्युसमीरिताः ॥ "'The Yavanas, Kirātas, Gāndhāras, Chīnas, "Śavaras, Varvaras, Śakas, Tushāras, Kaṇkas, Pahlavas, Andhras, Madras, "Paundras, Pulindas, Ramaṭhas, Kāmbojas, men sprung from Brahmans, "and from Kshatriyas, persons of the Vaisya and Sudra castes—how shall "all these people of different countries practise duty, and what rules shall kings "like me prescribe for those who are living as *Dasyus?* Instruct me on these "points; for thou art the friend of our Kshatriya race.' Indra answers: "'All the Dasyus should obey their parents, their spiritual directors, and "anchorites, and kings. It is also their duty to perform the ceremonies "ordained in the Vedas. They should sacrifice to the Pitṛis, construct "wells, buildings for the distribution of water, and resting places for "travellers, and should on proper occasions bestow gifts on the Brahmans. "They should practise innocence, veracity, meekness, purity, and inoffen"siveness; should maintain their wives and families; and make a just "division of property. Gifts should be distributed at all sacrifices by those "who desire to prosper. All the *Dasyus* should offer costly *pāka* oblations. "Such duties as these, which have been ordained of old, ought to be "observed by all people.' Māndhātṛi observes: 'In this world of men, "*Dasyus* are to be seen in all castes, living, under another garb, even "among men of the four orders (*āśramas*).' Indra replies: 'When criminal "justice has perished, and the duties of government are disregarded, man"kind become bewildered through the wickedness of their kings. *When* "*this Kṛita age has come to a close*, innumerable mendicants and hypocrites "shall arise, and the four orders become disorganized. Disregarding the "excellent paths of ancient duty, and impelled by passion and by anger, "men shall fall into wickedness,'" &c. In these last lines it is implied that the Brahmanical polity of castes and orders was fully developed in the Kṛita [or golden] age. This idea, however, is quite opposed to the representations which we find in other passages. See above, pp. 22, 23, 28, 29, 31, and 42.

"the middle is inhabited by Kshatriyas, Vaisyas, and Sudras," engaged in their several fixed occupations of sacrifice, war, trade, &c.[12]

Manu's account of the origin of the Yavanas, Śakas, Kāmbojas, &c. corresponds with the tenor of the following story which we find in the second Book of the Vishnu Purana, Sect. 3. Bāhu, the seventh king in descent from Hariśchandra, (see above, p. 88,) was overcome by the Haihăyas and Tālajanghas,[13] and compelled to fly with his queens to the forests, where he died. After his death one of his wives gave birth to a son, who received the name of Śagara (see above, p. 94). When he had grown up, he learnt from his mother all that had befallen his father. "Being vexed at the "loss of his paternal kingdom, he vowed to exterminate the Haihayas and "other enemies who had conquered it. Accordingly he destroyed nearly "all the Haihayas. When the Śakas, Yavanas, Kāmbojas, Pāradas, and "Pahlavas were about to undergo a similar fate, they had recourse to "Vaśishṭha, the king's family-priest, who interposed in their behalf in "these words addressed to Sagara; representing them as virtually dead, "'Enough, my son, let these persecuted men alone, for they are as good "as dead. In order that your vow might be fulfilled, I have compelled "them to abandon the duties of their caste, and all association with the "twice-born.' Agreeing to his spiritual guide's proposal, Sagara compelled these tribes to alter their costume. He made the Yavanas shave "their heads, the Śakas shave half their heads, the Pāradas wear long hair, "and the Pahlavas beards. These and other Kshatriyas he deprived of the "study of the Vedas, and oblations with fire. In consequence of their "abandonment of their proper rites, and of their desertion by the Brahmans, they became Mlechhas."[14]

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[12] Vishnu Purana, II. 3. 7. पूर्वे किराता यस्यान्ते पश्चिमे यवनाः स्थिताः । ब्राह्मणाः क्षत्रिया वैश्या मध्ये शूद्राश्च भागशः ॥ इज्यायुद्धवणिज्याद्यैर्वर्त्तयन्तो व्यवस्थिताः ॥

[13] See Wilson's Vishnu Purana, pp. 416 and 418, note. The Haihăyas and Tālajanghas are there said to be of the race of Yadu, son of Yayāti. In the note to p. 418 the Āvantyas are mentioned, on the authority of the Vāyu Purana, as being a branch of the Haihayas. In Manu, X. 21, these Āvantyas are said to be descended from Brahman Vrātyas.

[14] Vishnu Purana, IV. 3. ततः पितृराज्यहरणामर्षितो हैहयतालजङ्घादिवधाय प्रतिज्ञामकरोत् प्रायशश्च हैहयान् जघान । शकयवनकाम्बोजपारदपह्लवा हन्यमानास्तत्कुलगुरुं वशिष्ठं शरणं ययुः । अथैतान् वशिष्ठो जीवन्मृतकान् कृत्वा सगरमाह वत्स वत्सालमेभिरतिजीवन्मृतैरनुसृतैः ॥ एते च मयैव त्वत्प्रतिज्ञापरि-

This story is also related in the Harivansa, from which I extract the concluding part of the narrative: "Aurva having performed Sagara's "natal and other rites, and taught him all the Vedas, then provided "him with a fiery missile, such as even the gods could not withstand. "By the power of this weapon, and attended by an army, incensed and "fierce, Sagara speedily slew the Haihayas, as if they had been beasts; "and acquired great renown throughout the world. He then set himself "to exterminate the Śakas, Yavanas, Kāmbojas, Pāradas, and Pahlavas. "But they, when on the point of being slaughtered by Sagara, had "recourse to the sage Vaśishṭha, and fell down before him. Vaśishṭha "beholding them, by a sign restrained Sagara, giving them assurance of "protection. Sagara, after considering his own vow, and listening to what "his teacher had to say, destroyed their caste (*dharma*), and made them "change their costumes. He released the Śakas, after causing the half of "their heads to be shaven;—and the Yavanas and Kāmbojas, after having "had their heads entirely shaved. The Pāradas were made to wear long hair, "and the Pahlavas to wear beards. They were all excluded from the study "of the Vedas, and from oblations by fire. The Śakas, Yavanas, Kām-"bojas, Pāradas, Pahlavas, Kolisarpas, Mahishas, Dārvas, Chōlas, and "Kēralas had all been Kshatriyas; but were deprived of their social and "religious position by the great Sagara, according to the advice of Va-"śishṭha." [15]

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पालनाय निजधर्मद्विजसङ्गपरित्यागं कारिताः । स तथेति तद्गुरुवचनेनाभिनन्द्य तेषां वेषान्यत्वम् अकारयत् यवनान् मुण्डितशिरसोऽर्द्धमुण्डाञ्छकान् प्रलम्बकेशान् पारदान् पह्लवांश्च श्मश्रुधरान् निःस्वाध्यायवषट्कारान् एतान् अन्यांश्च क्षत्रियांश्चकार । ते च निजधर्मपरित्यागाद् ब्राह्मणैश्च परित्यक्ता म्लेच्छतां ययुः ॥

[15] Harivanśa, Sect. 14, verses 773—783. और्वस्तु जातकर्मादि तस्य कृत्वा महात्मनः । अध्याप्य वेदानखिलांस्ततोऽस्त्रं प्रत्यपादयत् । आग्नेयन्तु महाबाहुरमरैरपि दुःसहम् । स तेनास्त्रबलेनाजौ बलेन च समन्वितः । हैहयान् निजघानाशु क्रुद्धो रुद्रः पशूनिव । आजहार च लोकेषु कीर्त्तिं कीर्त्तिमतां वरः । ततः शकान् सयवनान् काम्बोजान् पारदांस्तथा । पह्लवांश्चैव निःशेषान् कर्त्तुं व्यवसितः किल । ते वध्यमाना वीरेण सगरेण महात्मना । वशिष्ठं शरणं गत्वा प्रणिपेतुर्मनीषिणम् । वशिष्ठस्त्वथ तान् दृष्ट्वा समयेन महाद्युतिः । सगरं वारयामास तेषां दत्त्वाऽभयं तदा । सगरः स्वां प्रतिज्ञाञ्च गुरोर्वाक्यं निशम्य च । धर्मं जघान तेषां वै वेशान्यत्वं चकार ह । अर्द्धं शकानां शिरसो मुण्डयित्वा व्यसर्जयत् । यवनानां शिरः सर्वं काम्बोजानां तथैव च । पारदा मुक्तकेशाश्च पह्लवा श्मश्रुधारिणः । निःस्वाध्यायवषट्काराः कृतास्तेन महात्मना । शका यवनकाम्बोजाः पारदाः पह्लवास्तथा ।

It would appear from this legend, as well as from the quotations which preceded it, that the Epic and Puranic writers believed all the surrounding tribes to belong to the same original stock with themselves; though they, at the same time, erroneously imagined that these tribes had fallen away from the Brahmanical institutions; thus assigning to their own polity an antiquity to which it could in reality lay no claim. Any further explanations on this point, however, must be reserved for a later part of this work.

In the passages quoted above, pp. 97 and 99, from the Mahābhārata and Rāmāyana, it is stated that Śakas, Yavanas, Pahlavas, &c. were created by Vaśishṭha's wonderful cow in order to repel the aggression of Viśwāmitra. It does not, however, appear that it is the object of that legend to represent this miraculous creation as the *origin* of those tribes. The narrators, if they had any distinct meaning, may not have intended any thing more than that the cow called into existence large armies, of the same stock with particular tribes previously existing.

It is not very easy to say whether it is only the inhabitants of Bhāratavarsha (viz. that portion of Jambudwīpa which answers to India) whom the Puranic writers intend to represent as deriving their origin from the four primeval Indian castes. The accounts which these writers give us of the other divisions of Jambudwīpa, and of the other *Dwīpas*, or continents, of which they imagine the earth to be composed, and their respective inhabitants, will be considered in the next chapter.

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# CHAPTER V.

## PURANIC ACCOUNTS OF THE PARTS OF THE EARTH EXTERIOR TO BHĀRATAVARSHA, OR INDIA.

IT WILL clearly appear from the contents of the following chapter that the authors or compilers of the Puranas knew nothing of any part of the world except that immediately around them. Whenever they wander away beyond their own neighbourhood, they at once lose themselves in a misty

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कोलिसर्पाः समहिषा दार्वाश्चोलाः सकेरलाः । सर्वे ते क्षत्रियास्तात धर्मस्तेषां निराकृतः । वशिष्ठवचनाद् राजन् सगरेण महात्मना ॥ Other tribes are mentioned in the following line, who seem to have undergone the same fate.

region of fiction, and give the most unbridled scope to their fantastic imaginations.

The following is the account given in the Vishnu Purana regarding the divisions of the earth, and their inhabitants. Priyavrata, son of Swāyambhuva, or the first Manu, (see above, pp. 19, 25,) who is separated from the present time by an enormous interval, (see p. 60 above,) "distributed the "seven *dwīpas*, of which the earth is composed, to seven of his sons." [1]

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[1] Vishnu Purana, II. 1. 7. प्रियव्रतो ददौ तेषां सप्तानां मुनिसत्तम । विभज्य सप्तद्वीपानि मैत्रेय सुमहात्मनाम् ॥ The original division of the earth into seven continents is assigned to Nārāyaṇa in the form of Brahmā; see above, p. 20, and Vishnu Purana I. 4. 48. भूविभागं ततः कृत्वा सप्त द्वीपान् यथा तथा ॥

The Bhāgavata Purana gives us the following account: Bhāg. Pur. V. 1. 30—31. . . . . समजवेन रथेन ज्योतिर्मयेन रजनीमपि दिनं करिष्यामीति सप्तकृत्वस्तरणिमनुपर्य्यक्रामद् द्वितीय इव पतङ्गः । [एवं कुर्वाणं प्रियव्रतमागत्य चतुराननस्त्वाधिकारोऽयं न भवतीति निवारयामास. The words within brackets are not in the Bombay edition, but are taken from Burnouf's.] ॥ ३० ॥ ये वा उ ह तद्रथचरणनेमिकृतपरिखातास्ते सप्त सिन्धव आसन् । यत एव कृताः सप्त भुवो द्वीपाः ॥ ३१ ॥ Priyavrata, being dissatisfied that only half the earth was illuminated at one time by the solar rays, "followed "the sun seven times round the earth in his own flaming car of equal "velocity, like another celestial orb, resolved to turn night into day. "[Brahmā however came and stopped him, saying this was not his pro-"vince.] The ruts which were formed by the motion of his chariot wheels "were the seven oceans. In this way the seven continents of the earth "were made."

The same circumstance is alluded to at the commencement of the 15th Section of the same Book, where the king says to the Rishi: Ibid. V. 16. 2. तत्रापि प्रियव्रतरथचरणपरिखातैः सप्तभिः सप्त सिन्धव उपकॢप्ताः । यत एतस्याः सप्तद्वीपविशेषविकल्पस्त्वया भगवन् खलु सूचितः । "The seven oceans were "formed by the seven ruts of the wheels of Priyavata's chariot; hence, as "you have indicated, the earth has become divided into seven different "continents."

In the first of these passages (verse 31 of the 1st Chapter of the fifth Book of the Bhāgavata Purana) we find the particles वै उ ह occurring all together, as they do in the Vedic hymns and Brāhmaṇas. This circum-

(See Wilson's Vishnu Purana, pp. 52 and 162.) These continents are called "Jambu dwīpa, Plaksha dwīpa, Śālmali dwīpa, Kuśa dwīpa, Kraun-"cha dwīpa, Śāka dwīpa, and Pushkara dwīpa. These are surrounded "severally (ibid. 166) by seven great seas, of salt water, sugar-cane juice, "wine, clarified butter, curds, milk, and fresh water."[2] Jambu dwīpa is in the centre of all these continents. It fell to the lot of Agnīdhra, son of Priyavrata, who again divided it among his nine sons. In the centre of Jambu

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stance suggests the possibility of the whole passage being derived from some of the Brāhmaṇas (to which, as we have seen, p. 11, note 7, the compiler of this Purana was in the habit of resorting for his materials); but I am unable to say whether any corresponding text is extant in any of those works. It is also remarkable that the words *sapta sindhavas* are here used for *seven oceans*. This phrase occurs several times in the Vedas. For instance, it is to be found in the Vājasanēyi Sanhita (of the Yajur Veda), 38, 26: यावती द्वावापृथिवी यावच्च सप्त सिन्धवो वितस्थिरे । &c. "As wide "as are the earth and sky, and as far as the seven oceans extend." The commentator Mahīdhara understands the latter in the Puranic sense, as the oceans of milk &c. सप्त सिन्धवः सप्त समुद्राः क्षीरोदाद्याः ॥ The hemistich I have quoted from the Vāj. Sanhita occurs, somewhat modified, and in a different connexion, in the Atharva Veda, IV. 6. 2. The same phrase *sapta sindhavas* is to be found also in several places in the first Book of the Rig Veda. (See Benfey's glossary to Sāma Veda, sub voce *saptan*.) In Rig Veda I. 32, 12, it is said to Indra अवासृजः सर्त्तवे सप्त सिन्धून् । "Thou hast let loose the seven rivers to flow." Sāyaṇa understands this of the Ganges and other rivers, seven in number, mentioned in the Rig Veda X. 75. 5: इमं मे गङ्गे यमुने सरस्वति शुतुद्रि स्तोमं सचता परुष्ण्या । &c. "Receive this my hymn with favour, o Gangā, Yamunā, Saraswatī, Sutudrī, "with the Parushnī &c.;" but in this distich ten rivers in all are mentioned. (See Wilson's note to Rig Veda I. 32, 12, Vol. I. p. 88, of his translation.) See also hymns 34, verse 8;—35, verse 8;—71, verse 7;—and 102, verse 2, of the first Book of the Rig Veda. The "seven rivers" of the Veda are, according to Professor Müller, (Last Results of Sanskrit Researches, p. 129,) "the Indus, the five rivers of the Penjāb, and the Sarasvatī."

[2] Vish. Pur. II. 2. 4, 5. जम्बुप्रक्षाह्वयौ द्वीपौ शाल्मलिश्चापरो द्विज । कुशः क्रौञ्चस्तथा शाकः पुष्करश्चैव सप्तमः । एते द्वीपाः समुद्रैस्तु [a word, quere सप्त? seems to be omitted here in the MS.] सप्तभिरावृताः । लवनेक्षुसुरासर्पिर्दधिदुग्धजलैः समम् ॥

dwīpa is mount Mēru, 84,000 yojanas high, and crowned by the great city of Brahmā. There are in this continent six cross-ranges of boundary-mountains, those of Himavat, (= Himādri, or Himālaya,) Hēmakūṭa, and Nishada lying south of Mēru; and those of Nīla, S'wēta, and Sṛingī situated to the northward. Of these, Nishada and Nīla are the nearest to Meru, while Himavat and Sṛingī are at the south and north extremities. The 9 Varshas or divisions of Jambu dwīpa, separated by these and other ranges, are Bhārata (India), south of the Himavat mountains, and the southernmost of all; then (2) Kimpurusha, (3) Harivarsha, (4) Ilāvṛita, (5) Ramyaka, (6) Hiranmaya, and (7) Uttara Kuru, each to the north of the last; while (8) Bhadrāśwa and (9) Ketumāla lie respectively to the east and west of Ilāvṛita, the central region. Bhārata Varsha, and Uttara Kuru, as well as Bhadrāśwa and Kētumāla, are situated on the exterior of the mountain ranges. (Wilson, Vish. Pur., 167—171.) The 8 Varshas to the north of Bhārata Varsha (or India) are thus described: "In the 8 Varshas called Kimpurusha and the rest" (i. e. in all except Bhārata Varsha) "the inhabitants enjoy a natural perfec-" tion attended with extreme and spontaneous happiness. There is there no " vicissitude, nor decrepitude, nor death, nor fear; no distinction of virtue or " vice, no inequality of conditions, nor any change resulting from the suc-" cession of the four ages."[3] And again: "In those eight Varshas there " is neither grief, nor weariness, nor anxiety, nor hunger, nor fear. The " people live in perfect health, free from every suffering, for 10 or 12 " thousand years. Indra does not rain on those Varshas, for they have " abundance of springs. There is there no division of time into the Kṛita, " Tretā, and other ages."[4]

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[3] Vish. Pur. II. 1. 11—13. यानि किम्पुरुषादीनि वर्षाण्यष्टौ महामुने । तेषां स्वाभाविकी सिद्धिः सुखप्रायाऽत्ययत्नतः । विपर्य्ययो न तत्रास्ति जरा मृत्युर्भयं न वा । धर्माधर्मौ न तेष्वास्तां नोत्तमाधममध्यमः । न तेष्वस्ति युगावस्था क्षेत्रेष्वष्टसु सर्वदा ॥

[4] Vish. Pur. II. 2. 35—37. यानि किम्पुरुषाद्यानि वर्षाण्यष्टौ महामुने । न तेषु शोको नायासो नोद्वेगक्षुद्भयादिकम् ॥ सुस्थाः प्रजा निरातङ्काः सर्वदुःखविवर्जिताः । दशद्वादशवर्षाणां सहस्राणि स्थिरायुषः ॥ न तेषु वर्षते देवो भौम्यान्यम्भांसि तेषु वै । कृतत्रेतादिका नैव तेषु स्थानेषु कल्पना ॥ The Uttara Kurus, it should be remarked, were a real people, and are mentioned in the Aitarēya Brāhmaṇa, VIII. 14, as quoted by Weber in Ind. St. I. 218. तस्मादेतस्यामुदीच्यां दिशि ये के च परेण हिमवन्तं जनपदा उत्तरकुरव उत्तरमद्रा इति वैराज्याय तेऽभिषिच्यन्ते । विराठित्येनान् अभिषिक्तानाचक्षते ॥ "Where-" fore the several nations who dwell in this northern quarter, beyond the

"The country to the north of the ocean, and to the south of the Himādri "(or snowy range), is Bhārata Vărsha, where the descendants of Bharata "dwell." [5] It is divided into 9 parts (*bhēdāh*), Indra dwīpa, Kaśerumat, Tāmravarṇa, Gābhăstimăt, Nāgadwīpa, Saumya, Gāndharva, Vāruṇa; and

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"Himavat, the Uttara Kurus and the Uttara Madras, are consecrated to "distinct rule (*vairājya*), and people term them *Virāj*." See Colebrooke's Misc. Essays, I. 38—43. At the time when the passage in the text was written, however, this country had already become mythical.

In the Anuśāsana Parva of the Mahābhārata, line 2841, Kuśika says, on seeing a magic palace formed by Chyavana (see above, p. 170): अहो सह शरीरेण प्राप्तोऽस्मि परमां गतिम्। उत्तरान् वा कुरून् पुण्यान् अथवाऽप्यमरावतीम्। "I have attained even in my embodied condition to the hea-"venly state; or to *the holy Northern Kurus*, or to Amarāvatī [the city "of Indra]!"

The Rāmāyaṇa, Book IV. (quoted by Lassen, Institutiones linguæ Pracriticæ, Appendix, pp. 24, 25, note), says of the Uttarakurus: .....उत्तरान् कुरून्। सप्तर्षीणां स्थितिर्यत्र यत्र मन्दाकिनी नदी। देवर्षिचरितं रम्यं यत्र चैत्ररथं वनम्। "The Uttara Kurus, where the seven ṛishis dwell, where the "river Mandākinī flows, and where is the pleasant forest Chaitraratha, fre-"quented by the divine-ṛishis." The traveller in the Himālaya has not to go very far to seek for the Mandākinī at the present day, as it is the branch of the Ganges which flows down the precipitous valley of Kedārnāth. It is mentioned in the Mahābhārata, Bhīshma Parva, verse 384, as one of the rivers of Bhārata Varsha: मन्दाकिनीन्तु पुण्याच्च &c.

The Mahabharata tells us, Bhishma Parva, verses 227—8, in regard to the Varsha of Kētumāla: आयुर्दशसहस्राणि वर्षाणां तत्र भारत। सुवर्णवर्णाश्च नराः स्त्रियश्चाप्सरसोपमाः। अनामया वीतशोका नित्यं मुदितमानसाः। जायन्ते मानवास्तत्र निष्टप्तकनकप्रभाः। "The people there live ten thousand years. "The men are of the colour of gold, and the women fair as celestial "nymphs. Men are born there of the colour of burnished gold; live free "from sickness and sorrow, and enjoy perpetual happiness." The men by the side of the mountain Gandhamādana, west of Meru, are said to be "black, of great strength and vigour, while the women are of the colour of "blue lotuses, and very beautiful:" तत्र कृष्णा नरा राजंस्तेजोयुक्ता महाबलाः। स्त्रियश्चोत्पलवर्णाभाः सर्वाः सुप्रियदर्शनाः॥

[5] Vish. Pur. II. 3. 1. उत्तरं यत् समुद्रस्य हिमाद्रेश्चैव दक्षिणम्। वर्षं तद् भारतं नाम भारती यत्र सन्ततिः॥

the ninth, which is not named, is said to be surrounded by the ocean,[6] and to be a thousand yojanas long from north to south. "On the east side "[of Bhārata Varsha] are the Kirātas, on the west the Yavanas, and in the "centre are the Brahmans, Kshatriyas, Vaisyas, and Sudras, following their "respective occupations of sacrifice, arms, trade, &c."[7]

The Vishnu Purana contains a very short list of the tribes inhabiting Bhārata Varsha. It specifies, as the principal, only the Kurus, Pānchālas, the people of Kāmarupa, the Puṇḍras, Kalingas, Magadhas, Saurashṭras, Śūras, Bhīras, Arbudas, Kārushas, Mālavas, Sauvīras, Saindhavas, Hūnas, Śālwas, Śākalas, Madras, Rāmas, Ambashṭhas and Pāraśikas.[8] These tribes seem to be all confined to India and its vicinity.

"In Bhārata Varsha, and nowhere else, the four Yugas, Kṛita, Tretā, "Dwāpara, and Kali exist. Here devotees perform austerities, and priests "sacrifice: here gifts are bestowed, to testify honour, for the sake of the "future world. In Jambudwīpa Vishnu, the sacrificial Man, is continually "worshipped by men with sacrifices; and in other ways in the other *dwīpas*. "In this respect Bhārata is the most excellent division of Jambu dwīpa: "for this is the land of works, while the others are places of enjoyment. "Perhaps in a thousand thousand births, a living being obtains that most "excellent condition, humanity, the receptacle of virtue." "The gods "sing, 'Happy are those beings who are again born in Bhārata Varsha, "from the state of men or Asuras, after the rewards of their merits have been "exhausted in heaven; who having resigned to the supreme and eternal "Vishṇu their works, without regard to their fruits, are born in that land "of works, and attain by purity to absorption in him. We know not where "we shall next attain a corporeal condition, when the merit of our works "shall have become exhausted; but happy are those men who exist in "Bhārata Varsha with perfect senses.'"[9]

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[6] अयं तु नवमस्तेषां द्वीपः सागरसंवृतः ॥

[7] Vish. Pur. II. 3. 7. पूर्वे किराता यस्यान्ते पश्चिमे यवनाः स्थिताः। ब्राह्मणाः क्षत्रिया वैश्या मध्ये शूद्राश्च भागशः। इज्यायुद्धवणिज्याद्यैर्वर्त्तयन्तो व्यवस्थिताः॥

[8] The list in the Mahābhārata (Bhishma Parva, 342) is much longer. See Wilson's Vishnu Purana, pp. 176, 177, and 185—196.

[9] Vish. Pur. II. 3. 11—15. चत्वारि भारते वर्षे युगान्यत्र महामुने। कृतं त्रेता द्वापरञ्च कलिश्चान्यत्र न क्वचित् ॥ ११॥ तपस्तप्यन्ति यतयो जुह्वते चात्र यज्विनः। दानानि चात्र दीयन्ते परलोकार्थमादरात्॥ पुरुषैर्यज्ञपुरुषो जम्बुद्वीपे सदेज्यते। यज्ञैर्यज्ञमयो विष्णुरन्यद्वीपेषु चान्यथा॥ अत्रापि भारतं श्रेष्ठं जम्बुद्वीपे महामुने। यतो हि कर्मभूरेषा अतोऽन्या भोगभूमयः॥ अत्र जन्मसहस्राणां सहस्रै-

It appears from the preceding passage of the Vishnu Purana, (as well as others which we shall encounter below,) to be the intention of the writer to represent the inhabitants of Bhārata Varsha as a different race, or,

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रपि सत्तमम् । कदाचिल्लभते जन्तुर्मानुष्यं पुण्यसञ्चयम् ॥ गायन्ति देवा किल गीतकानि धन्यास्तु ये भारतभूमिभागे । स्वर्गापवर्गास्य दहे तु भूते भवन्ति भूयः पुरुषासुरत्वात् । कर्माख्यसङ्कल्पिततत्फलानि सन्यस्य विष्णौ परमात्मरूपे । अवाप्य तां कर्ममहीमनन्ते तस्मिन् लयं ये त्वमलाः प्रयान्ति । जानीमो नैतत् क्व वयं विलीने स्वर्गप्रदे कर्मणि देहबन्धम् । प्राप्स्यामो धन्याः खलु ते मनुष्या ये भारते नेन्द्रियविप्रहीणाः ॥ To the same effect the Bhāgavata Purana says, V. 17. 11. तत्रापि भारतमेव वर्षं कर्मक्षेत्रम् अन्यान्यष्ट वर्षाणि स्वर्गिणां पुण्यशेषोपभोगस्थानानि भौमानि स्वर्गपदानि व्यपदिशन्ति ॥ ११ ॥ एषु पुरुषाणाम् अयुतपुरुषायुर्वर्षाणां देवकल्पानां नागायुतप्राणानां . . . . . त्रेतायुगसमः कालो वर्त्तते ॥ १२ ॥ " Of these, Bhārata Varsha alone is the land of works: the " other eight Varshas are places where the celestials enjoy the remaining " rewards of their works; they are called terrestrial paradises. In them, " men pass an existence corresponding to that of the Tretā age, living for " the space of ten thousand lives, on an equality with gods, and having the " vitality of ten thousand elephants."

The commentator remarks on verse 11: दिव्यभौमविलभेदात् त्रिविधः स्वर्गः । तत्र भौमस्वर्गस्य पदानि स्थानानि व्यपदिशन्ति । " Heaven is of three kinds, " in the sky, on earth, and in the abyss. Here the other Varshas are called " terrestrial heavens."

It is curious to remark that in the panegyric on Bhārata Varsha it appears to be mentioned as one of the distinguishing merits of that division of Jambudwīpa that sacrifice is performed there, (though, a little further on, it is said to be practised in S'ālmala dwīpa also). But sacrifice is the main characteristic of the Dwāpara age, according to Manu I. 8. 6: तपः परं कृतयुगे त्रेतायां ज्ञानमुच्यते । द्वापरे यज्ञमेवाहुर्दानमेकं कलौ युगे । " Devotion is " chief in the Kṛita age, knowledge in the Trētā, and sacrifice in the Dwā- " para. Liberality alone is the duty of the Kali." Conformably to the understood theory of the four Yugas, there is a gradual deterioration (see above, pp. 22, 28—32); and the third, or Dwāpara age, in which sacrifice prevails, is inferior to the Tretā, and a fortiori to the Kṛita. But we are told in the passage from the Bhāgavata Purana, V. 17. 12, quoted above in this note, that in the other Varshas of Jambu dwīpa men enjoy a state of life corresponding to that of the Tretā. But if the mode of existence in Bhārata Varsha be the best, the Dwāpara, or third age, must be preferable to the Trētā, or second!

at least, as living under quite different conditions, from the inhabitants of the other *dwīpas*, and even of the other divisions (*varshas*) of Jambu dwīpa itself. From the use of the word *mānushya* (humanity) here applied to the inhabitants of Bhārata Varsha, viewed in reference to the context, it would seem to be a natural inference that all the people exterior to it were not beings of the same race. Yet in the descriptions of Kuśa dwīpa and Pushkara dwīpa (see below) the words *manujās*, and *mānavās*, "descendants of "Manu," or "men," are applied to the dwellers in those continents. In the passage of the Jātimālā, moreover, translated by Mr. Colebrooke, (Misc. Essays, II. 179,) we are told that "a chief of the twice-born tribe was brought "by Vishnu's eagle from S'āka dwīpa; thus have S'āka dwīpa Brahmans be-"come known in Jambu dwīpa." According to this verse, too, there should be an affinity of race between the people of these two dwīpas. It is also to be noted that the descendants of Priyavrata became kings of all the dwīpas, as well as of all the varshas of Jambu dwīpa. And in the Vishnu Purana, IV. 11. 3, it is said of Arjuna, son of Kṛitavīrya of the race of Yadu, that he was "lord of the seven dwīpas, and had a thousand arms . . . . . that he ruled "over the earth with all its dwīpas." [10] See other passages to the same effect above, page 158, note 88, page 163, note 2, and pp. 171, 172. If, however, the kings were of one race, it is natural to infer the same of the people.

But in a subject of this sort, where the writers were following the suggestions of imagination only, it is to be expected that we should find inconsistencies.

Jambu dwīpa is surrounded by a sea of salt water (Vish. Pur., p. 197); and that sea again is bounded on its outer side by the *dwīpa* or continent of Plaksha running all round it. (According to this scheme the several continents and seas form concentric circles, Jambu dwīpa being a circular island occupying the centre of the system.) Plaksha dwīpa is twice the extent of Jambu dwīpa. The character and condition of its inhabitants are described as follows: "In those seven provinces [which compose Plaksha "dwīpa] the division of time into Yugas does not exist: but the character "of existence is always that of the Tretā age. In the [five] dwīpas, be-"ginning with Plaksha and ending with S'āka, the people live 5000 years, "free from sickness. In those five dwīpas duties arise from the divisions "of castes and orders. There are there also four castes, Āryyakas, Kurus, "Vivāśas, and Bhāvīs, who are the Brahmans, Kshatriyas, Vaisyas, and "Sūdras." [11]

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[10] कृतवीर्य्याद् अर्जुनः सप्तद्वीपपतिर्बाहुसहस्री जज्ञे . . . . . तेनेयमशेषद्वीपवती पृथ्वी सम्यक् परिपालिता ॥ Purūravas is said to have possessed *thirteen* islands (*dwīpas*) of the ocean, (above, p. 66.)

[11] Vish. Pur. II. 4, 5. न चैवास्ति युगावस्था तेषु स्थानेषु सप्तसु । त्रेतायु-

Plaksha dwīpa is surrounded by a sea of sugar-cane juice of the same extent as itself. Round the outer margin of this sea, and twice as extensive, runs S'ālmala dwīpa. It is divided into seven Varshas, or divisions. Of their inhabitants it is said: "These seven Varshas have a system of "four castes. The castes who dwell there are severally the Kapilas, Aruṇas, "Pītas, and Rōhitas (or the Tawny, the Purple, the Yellow, and the Red). "These, the Brahmans, Kshatriyas, Vaiyas, and Sūdras, worship with "excellent sacrifices Vishnu, the divine and imperishable soul of all things, "in the form of Vayu, and abiding in sacrifice. Here the vicinity of the "gods is very delightful to the soul." [12]

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गसमः कालः सर्वदैव महामते । प्रक्षद्वीपादिषु ब्रह्मन् शाकद्वीपान्तिकेषु वै । पञ्चवर्षसहस्राणि जना जीवन्त्यनामयाः । धर्मा पञ्चस्वथैतेषु वर्णाश्रमविभागजाः । वर्णास्तत्रापि चत्वारस्तान् निबोध गदामि ते । आर्य्यकाः कुरवश्चैव विवाशा भाविनश्च ये । विप्रक्षत्रियवैश्यास्ते शूद्राश्च मुनिसत्तम ॥ The inhabitants of this dwīpa receive different names in the Bhāg. Pur., being there called (V. 20. 4) "Hansas, Patangas, Urdhwāyanas, and Satyāngas, four castes, "who, purified by the touch of the rivers from passion and darkness, live "a thousand years, resemble the gods in their character and in their man-"ner of procreation, and sacrifice with the triple Veda to the divine Soul, the "sun, who is the gate of heaven, and who is coessential with the Vedas:" यासां जलोपस्पर्शनविधूतरजस्तमसो हंसपतङ्गोर्द्धायनसत्याङ्गसंज्ञाश्चत्वारो वर्णाः सहस्रायुषो विबुधोपमसन्दर्शनप्रजननाः स्वर्गद्वारं त्रय्या विद्यया भगवन्तं त्रयीमयं सूर्यमात्मानं यजन्ते ॥

In regard to Plaksha and the other four following dwīpas, the Bhāg. Pur. says, ibid. para 6, that "their men are all alike in point of length of "life, senses, vigour, strength, intelligence, courage, and congenital per-"fection:" प्रक्षादिषु पञ्चसु पुरुषाणाम् आयुरिन्द्रियमोजो बलं बुद्धिर्विक्रम इति च सर्वेषामौत्पत्तिकी सिद्धिरविशेषेण वर्त्तते ॥

[12] Vish. Pur. II. 4. 12, 13. सप्तैतानि तु वर्षाणि चातुर्वर्ण्ययुतानि च । शाल्मले ये तु वर्णाश्च वसन्ति ते महामुने । कपिलाश्चारुणाः पीता वृक्षाश्चैव [sic in my MS.: Wilson must have read रोहिताश्च] पृथक् पृथक् । ब्राह्मणाः क्षत्रिया वैश्या शूद्राश्चैव यजन्ति ते । भगवन्तं समस्तस्य विष्णुमात्मानमव्ययम् ॥ वायुभूतं मखश्रेष्ठैर्यैज्ञिनो [यज्ञिनो?] यज्ञसंस्थितम् ॥ देवानामत्र सान्निध्यमतीव सुमनोरमम् ॥ The Bhāgavata Purana says of this dwīpa, V. 20. 11: तद्वर्ष-पुरुषाः श्रुतधरवीर्य्यधरवसुन्धरेषुन्धरसंज्ञाः । "The men of the different divisions "of this dwīpa are called S'rutadharas, Vīryadharas, Vasundharas, and "Ishundharas."

This dwīpa is surrounded by a sea of wine of the same extent as itself. The exterior shore of this sea is encompassed by Kuśa dwīpa, which is twice as extensive as Śālmala dwīpa. The inhabitants of Kuśa dwīpa are thus described; Vish. Pur. II. 4. 14: "In this set of Varshas (of Kuśa "dwīpa) dwell *men* with Daityas, Dānavas, Devas, Gandharvas, Yakshas, "Kimpurushas, and other [superhuman] beings. There too there are four "castes, pursuing their proper observances, Dămīs, Sŭshmīs, Snēhas, and "Mandēhas, who in the order specified are Brahmans, Kshatriyas, Vaisyas, "and Sudras. In order to destroy their right [to reward] derived from "the performance of these works, they worship Janārdăna in the form of "Brahmă, and so neutralize this direful merit which brings rewards." [13] Kuśa dwīpa is surrounded by a sea of clarified butter, of the same extent.

Around this sea runs Krauncha dwīpa, which is twice as large as Kuśa dwīpa. The Vish. Pur. says, II. 4. 19: "In all these pleasant division-"mountains of this dwīpa, the people dwell, free from fear, in the society "of the gods. [These people are] the Pushkaras, Pushkalas, Dhanyas, "and Tishyas, who, as enumerated in order, are the Brahmans, Kshatriyas, "Vaiśyas, and Sudras." [14] This dwīpa is encompassed by the sea of curds (or whey), which is of the same extent as it. The sea again, on its exterior

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[13] तस्यां वसन्ति मनुजाः सह दैतेयदानवैः। तथैव देवगन्धर्वयक्षकिम्पुरुषादयः॥ वर्णास्तत्रापि चत्वारो निजानुष्ठाननत्पराः। दमिनः शुष्मिणः स्नेहा मन्देहाश्च महामुने। ब्राह्मणाः क्षत्रिया वैश्याः शूद्राश्चानुक्रमोहिताः। यथोक्तकर्मकर्तृत्वात् स्वाधिकारक्षयाय ते। तत्र हेतु (?) कुशद्वीपे ब्रह्मरूपं जनार्दनम्। यजन्तः क्षपयन्त्युग्रमधिकारं फलप्रदम्॥ Of Kuśa dwīpa the Mahābhārata tells us, Bhishma Parva, verses 455—7: एतेषु देवगन्धर्वा प्रजाश्च जगतीश्वर। विहरन्ते रमन्ते च न तेषु म्रियते जनः। न तेषु दस्यवः सन्ति म्लेच्छजात्योऽपि वा नृप। गौरप्रायो जनः सर्वः सुकुमारश्च पार्थिव। "In these (Varshas of Kuśa dwīpa), "gods, Gandharvas, and living creatures, amuse themselves. No one dies "there. There are no *Dasyus* or *Mlechhas* there. The people are fair, and "of very delicate forms." The Bhāgavata Purana, V. 20. 16, says, "the "people of this dwīpa are called Kuśalas, Kovidas, Abhiyuktas, and Kula-"kas:" कुशद्वीपौकसः कुशलकोविदाभियुक्तकुलकसंज्ञाः॥

[14] सर्वेष्वेतेषु रम्येषु वर्षशैलवरेषु च। निवसन्ति निरातङ्काः सह देवगणैः प्रजाः॥ पुष्कराः पुष्कला धन्यास्तिष्याश्चात्र महामुने। ब्राह्मणाः क्षत्रिया वैश्याः शूद्राश्चानुक्रमोदिताः॥ The inhabitants of this *dwīpa* are called in the Bhāg. Pur. V. 20. 22, "... Purushas, Rishabhas, Draviṇas, and Devakas:" ... पुरुषर्षभद्रविणदेवकसंज्ञाः॥

edge, is surrounded by S'āka dwīpa, a continent twice the size of Krauncha dwīpa.

Of S'āka dwīpa it is said in the Vish. Pur. II. 4. 23—26: The people who "dwell in these divisions, Jalada &c. [of S'āka dwīpa], drink these rivers "with pleasure, even when they have come to earth from Swarga [Indra's "heaven]. There is among them no defect of virtue; nor any mutual "rivalry: nor any transgression of rectitude in those seven countries. "[There dwell] the Mṛigas, Māgadhas, the Mānasas, and the Mandagas, of "whom the first are in character predominantly Brahmans; the second are "Kshatriyas; the third are Vaiśyas; and the fourth are S'ūdras. By them "Vishnu, in the form of the Sun, is worshipped with the prescribed cere-"monies, and with intent minds." [15]

This S'āka dwīpa is surrounded by the ocean of milk as by an armlet. This ocean is encompassed on its outer side by Pushkara dwīpa, which is twice as extensive as S'āka dwīpa.

Of Pushkara dwīpa it is said, Vishnu Purana, II. 4. 28—32:

"In this dwīpa men live 10,000 years, free from sickness and sorrow, "from affection or hatred. There is no distinction among them of highest "and lowest, of killer and slain; there is no envy, nor detraction, nor fear, "nor anger, nor other defect; there is neither truth nor falsehood. Men there

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[15] ताः पिबन्ति मुदा युक्ता जलदादिषु ये स्थिताः। वर्षेषु ते जनपदाः स्वर्गादभ्येत्य मेदिनीम्। धर्महानिर्न तेष्वस्ति न संघर्षः परस्परम्। मर्यादाव्युत्क्रमो नापि तेषु देशेषु सप्तसु ॥ २४ ॥ मृगाश्च मागधाश्चैव मानसा मन्दगास्तथा। मृगा ब्राह्मणभूयिष्ठा मागधाः क्षत्रियास्तु ते। वैश्यास्तु मानसा ज्ञेयाः शूद्रास्तेषां तु मन्दगाः ॥ २५ ॥ शाकद्वीपे तु तैर्विष्णुः सूर्यरूपधरो मुने। यथोक्तैरिज्यते सम्यक् कर्मभिर्नियतात्मभिः ॥ २६ ॥ Of this dwīpa the Mahābhārata tells us, Bhīshma Parva, verse 410, that the "people there are holy, and no one dies:" तत्र पुण्या जनपदा न तत्र म्रियते नरः ॥ There is a mountain there called *S'yāma* (black) "whence men have got this black colour:" ततः श्यामत्वमापन्ना जना जनपदेश्वर ॥ Dhṛitarāshṭra then says to his informant Sanjaya that he has great doubts as to "how living creatures have become black." Sanjaya promises in the following two lines, the first of which is not very intelligible to me, to explain the mystery; गौरः कृष्णश्च पातङ्गो यतो वर्णान्तरे द्विजाः। श्यामो यस्मात् प्रवृत्तो वै तन्ने वक्ष्यामि भारत।; but as he proceeds no further, we lose the benefit of his solution of this interesting physiological problem. The Bhāgavata Purana, V. 20. 28, gives the four classes of men in this *dwīpa* the names of *Ritavratas, Satyavratas, Dānavratas,* and *Anuvratas:* तद्वर्षपुरुषा ऋतव्रतसत्यव्रतदानव्रतानुव्रतनामानः &c.

" are all of the same appearance, of one form with the gods. The two " divisions of this dwīpa have no rules of caste or orders, nor any ob- " servances of duty: the three Vedas, the Puranas, the rules of criminal " law, polity, and service do not exist. This [dwīpa] is a most excellent " terrestrial heaven; where time brings happiness to all, and is exempt " from decay, sickness, and all other evils." [16]

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[16] दशवर्षसहस्राणि तत्र जीवन्ति मानवाः । निरामया विशोकाश्च रागद्वेषविवर्जिताः । अधर्मोत्तमौ न तेष्वास्तां न वध्यवधकौ द्विज । नेर्ष्याऽसूया भयं रोषो [a word wanting here in MS.] लोभादिको न च ॥ . . . . . सत्यानृते न तत्रास्तां द्वीपे पुष्करसंज्ञिते ॥ . . . . . तुल्यवेशास्तु मनुजाः देवैस्तत्रैकरूपिणः । वर्णाश्रमाचारहीनं धर्माचरणवर्जितम् ॥ त्रयीवार्त्तादण्डनीतिशुश्रूषारहितं च यत् ॥ वर्षद्वयं तु मैत्रेय भौमः स्वर्गोऽयमुत्तमः ॥ सर्वस्य सुखदः कालो जरारोगादिवर्जितः ॥

In the same way as Pushkara, the remotest dwīpa, is here described to be the scene of the greatest perfection, we find Homer placing the Elysian plains on the furthest verge of the earth:

ἀλλά σ' ἐς Ἠλύσιον πεδίον καὶ πείρατα γαίης
ἀθάνατοι πέμψουσιν, ὅθι ξανθὸς Ῥαδάμανθυς,
τῇπερ ῥηΐστη βιοτὴ πέλει ἀνθρώποισιν.
οὐ νιφετὸς, οὔτ' ἂρ χειμὼν πολὺς οὔτε ποτ' ὄμβρος,
ἀλλ' αἰεὶ Ζεφύροιο λιγὺ πνείοντας ἀήτας
Ὠκεανὸς ἀνίησιν ἀναψύχειν ἀνθρώπους. Odyssey Δ. 563—568.

Of all the dwīpas together, the Mahābhārata says, Bhīshma Parva, verses 468—473: एवं द्वीपेषु सर्वेषु प्रजानां कुरुनन्दन । ब्रह्मचर्य्येण सत्येन प्रजानां हि दमेन च । आरोग्यायुःप्रमाणाभ्यां द्विगुणं द्विगुणं ततः । एको जनपदो राजन् द्वीपेष्वेतेषु भारत । उक्ता जनपदा येषु कर्म चैकं प्रदृश्यते । ईश्वरो दण्डमुद्यम्य स्वयमेव प्रजापतिः । द्वीपानान्तु महाराज रक्षंस्तिष्ठति नित्यदा । स राजा स शिवो राजन् स पिता प्रपितामहैः । गोपायति नरश्रेष्ठ प्रजाः सजडपण्डिताः । भोजनञ्चात्र कौरव्य प्रजाः स्वयमुपस्थितम् । सिद्धमेव महाबाहो तद्धि भुञ्जन्ति नित्यदा । " Thus " in all these *dwīpas*, from the abstinence, veracity, and self-restraint of the " people, each country doubly exceeds the former one [?] in point of the " health and the length of life of its inhabitants. In these countries one " sort of action is perceivable. Prajāpati, the lord, wielding his sceptre, " himself governs these *dwīpas*. He, the king, the auspicious one (Śiva), " the father, along with the patriarchs, protects all creatures, *ignorant as* " *well as learned*." (So there are differences of condition in these dwīpas, after all.) " All these people eat prepared food, which comes to them " spontaneously."

Pushkara is surrounded by a sea of fresh water equal to itself in breadth. "On the other side of the sea is a golden land of twice its extent, but without inhabitants: beyond that is the Lōkālōka mountain, which is 10,000 "yojanas in breadth, and as many thousands in height. It is immovable, "and invested with darkness. This darkness is encompassed by the shell "of the mundane egg." [17]

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[17] Vish. Pur. II. 4. 37. स्वादूदकस्य परतो दृश्यते लोकसंस्थितिः । द्विगुणा काञ्चनी भूमिः सर्वजन्तुविवर्जिता । लोकालोकस्ततः शैलो योजनायुतविस्तृतः । उच्छ्रायेनापि तावन्ति सहस्राण्यचलो हि सः । ततस्तमः समावृत्य तं शैलं सर्वतः स्थितम् । तमश्चाण्डकटाहेन समन्तात् परिवेष्टितम् ॥ See Manu I. 9. 12, 13.

In a following chapter, however, (the 7th,) of this same book, the shell of the mundane egg is said *to be outside of the seven spheres* of which this system is composed: Vish. Pur. II. 7. 19, 20. एते सप्त मया लोका मैत्रेय कथितास्तव । पातालानि च सप्तैव ब्रह्माण्डस्येष विस्तरः । एतदण्डकटाहेन तिर्यक् चोर्द्धमधस्तथा । कपित्थस्य यथा बीजं सर्वतो वै समावृतम् । "These seven "spheres have been described by me; and there are also seven *Pātālas:* "this is the extent of Brahmā's egg. The whole is surrounded by the shell "of the egg at the sides, above, and below, just as the seed of the wood-"apple is covered by the rind."

This system, however, it appears, is but a very small part of the whole universe: Ibid. verse 24. अण्डानां तु सहस्राणां सहस्राण्ययुतानि च । ईदृशानां तथा तत्र कोटिकोटिशतानि च । "There are thousands, and ten thousands of "thousands of such mundane eggs; nay, hundred millions of millions."

# APPENDIX.

## SUPPLEMENTARY NOTES.

Page 17, line 21. We find elsewhere indications of the *purohitas* of kings being held in secondary estimation. For instance, in a legend recorded in the Anuśāsana Parva of the Mahābhārata, where the several ṛishis pronounce curses on any person who had stolen certain lotus-fibres [?], part of Viśwāmitra's curse is as follows (verse 4527): **वर्षाचरोऽस्तु भृतको राज्ञश्चास्तु पुरोहितः । अयाज्यस्य भवत्वृत्विग् विसस्तैन्यं करोति यः ।** "Let *him* who "steals lotus-fibres [?] be the *purohita* of a king, and the priest of him for "whom no priest should officiate:" and again, verse 4579, **करोतु भृतकोऽवर्षां राज्ञश्चास्तु पुरोहितः । ऋत्विगस्तु ह्ययाज्यस्य यस्ते हरति पुष्करम् ।** where the sense is similar. [I do not understand the meaning of the first clause in each of these two distichs.]

Pages 35, line 11, and 38, line 19. So too in the Mahābhārata (Vana Parva, verse 12981) the god, who is conversing with Mārkandēya, says: **श्वेतः कृतयुगे वर्णः पीतस्त्रेतायुगे मम । रक्तो द्वापरमासाद्य कृष्णः कलियुगे तथा ।** [When I become incarnate], "my colour is in the Kṛita age, white; in the Tretā, "yellow; in the Dwāpara, red; and in the Kali, black (*kṛishṇa*)."

Page 40, line 1. The same verse, which is here adduced as the last of the quotation, occurs in the third or Vana Parva of the Mahābhārata, verse 12475, with some variations which materially affect the sense. I will quote it with its context. Nahusha, who had been condemned to take the form of a serpent (see above, p. 68), asks Yudhishṭhira the questions, *Who is a Brāhman; and what is the object of knowledge?* Yudhishṭhira replies: **सत्यं दानं क्षमा शीलमानृशंस्यं तपो घृणा । दृश्यन्ते यत्र नागेन्द्र स ब्राह्मण इति स्मृतिः ॥ ..... सर्प उवाच । चातुर्वर्ण्यं प्रमाणञ्च सत्यञ्च ब्रह्म चैव हि । शूद्रेष्वपि च सत्यञ्च दानमक्रोध एव च । आनृशंस्यमहिंसा च घृणा चैव युधिष्ठिर ॥ ..... युधिष्ठर उवाच । शूद्रे तु यद् भवेल्लक्ष ङिजे तच्च न विद्यते । न वै शूद्रो भवेच्छूद्रो ब्राह्मणो न च ब्राह्मणः ॥ यत्रैतल्लक्ष्यते सर्प वृत्तं स ब्राह्मणः स्मृतः । यत्रैतन्न भवेत् सर्प तं शूद्रमिति निर्दिशेत् ॥** "'The man in

" whom are seen truth, liberality, patience, virtue, innocence, devotion, and " compassion—he is a Brahman according to the religious tradition.' " . . . . " The Serpent answers: ' The system of four castes is authoritative; " and Brahma is true' [this last clause refers to another question which the " Serpent had proposed]. ' But in S'ūdras also [we meet with] truth, " liberality, patience, innocence, harmlessness, and compassion, o Yudhish- " ṭhira.' Yudhishṭhira replies: ' *Whenever a S'ūdra has any virtuous* " *characteristic, and a Brahman lacks it,—that S'ūdra will not be really a* " *S'ūdra, nor that Brahman a Brahman.* The man in whom this virtuous " character is seen is a Brahman; and the man in whom it is not seen is a " S'ūdra.' " The words in italics seem to convey the real sense of both the two distichs now in question; and if so, the last verse of the passage quoted in note 63, pp. 40, 41, must in its genuine form have nearly corresponded with the verse in this note.

The passage from which I have been quoting proceeds: **सर्प उवाच ॥ यदि ते वृत्ततो राजन् ब्राह्मणः प्रसमीक्षितः । वृथा जातिस्तदाऽऽयुष्मन् कृतियौवन्न विद्यते ॥ युधिष्ठिर उवाच ॥ जातिरत्र महासर्प मनुष्यत्वे महामते । सङ्करात् सर्ववर्णानां दुष्परीक्ष्येति मे मतिः ॥ सर्वे सर्वास्वपत्यानि जनयन्ति सदा नराः । वाङ् मैथुनमथो जन्म मरणञ्च समं नृणाम् ॥ इदमार्षं प्रमाणञ्च ये यजामह इत्यपि । तस्माच्छीलं प्रधानेष्टं विदुर्ये तत्त्वदर्शिनः ॥ प्राङ् नाभिवर्द्धनात् पुंसो जातकर्म विधीयते । तदाऽस्य माता सावित्री पिता त्वाचार्य्य उच्यते । तावच्छूद्रसमो ह्येष यावद् वेदे न जायते । तस्मिन्नेवं मतिद्वैधे मनुः स्वायम्भुवोऽब्रवीत् । कृतकृत्याः पुनर्वर्णा यदि वृत्तं न विद्यते । सङ्करस्तत्र नागेन्द्र बलवान् प्रसमीक्षितः । यत्रेदानीं महासर्प संस्कृतं वृत्तमिष्यते । तं ब्राह्मणमहं पूर्वमुक्तवान् भुजगोत्तम ।** " The " Serpent said: ' If you regard him only as a Brahman whom his conduct " makes such, then caste is of no avail until deeds are superadded to it.' " Yudhishṭhira replies: ' O most sapient Serpent, the caste of mankind is " difficult to determine, owing to the general confusion of classes. Men of " all castes are continually begetting children on women of all castes: the " speech, the mode of propagation, the birth, the death of all men are alike. " This also is established by the word of ṛishis, and is authoritative; we " who sacrifice, &c.'" [I do not profess to understand the purport of this.] " ' Hence those who have insight into reality consider virtuous character " to be the thing mainly to be desired. The natal rites of a male are " enjoined to be performed before the section of the umbilical cord. [See " Manu, II. 29.] Then Sāvitrī [the gāyatrī, Manu, II. 77] becomes " his mother, and the religious teacher his father. [Manu, II. 170, 225.] " He is on a level with a S'ūdra *till he is born in the Veda.* [Manu, II. 172.]

" In this division of opinions Manu Swāyambhuva hath so declared. Again, " though the prescribed ceremonies have been fulfilled [?], yet, if good conduct " is not superadded, there is considered to be, in that case, a great confusion " of castes. I have before declared him to be a Brahman who aims at purity " of conduct.' "

This passage may be compared with the whole of the quotation from the Mahābhārata given in pp. 37—40, which it illustrates, and with the tenour of which it coincides.

Page 47, line 14. In the Rāmāyaṇa, I. 55. 3, a race called Hārītas is named among the barbarous tribes of warriors created by Vaśishṭha's cow:

रोमकूपेषु म्लेच्छाश्च हारीताः सकिरातकाः ॥

Page 73, line 10. The story of Nahusha occurs again in the Anuśāsana Parva of the Mahābhārata, verses 4745—4810.

Nahusha, in consequence of his good deeds, was exalted to heaven; where he continued to perform all divine and human ceremonies, and to worship the gods as before. At length he became puffed up with pride at the idea that he was Indra; and thus all his good works became nullified. He made the ṛishis carry him for a great length of time. Eventually it came to Agastya's turn. Bhṛigu then came and said to Agastya, " Why do we " submit to the insults of this wicked king of the gods? " Agastya said that the reason why no ṛishi had ventured to curse him was that he had obtained from the god the power of subduing to his service every one on whom his eye should fall; and had got nectar given him to drink. However, Agastya said, he was ready to do whatever Bhṛigu should suggest. Bhṛigu said he had been sent by Brahmā to take vengeance on Nahusha, who was that day to yoke Agastya to his chariot, and would spurn him with his foot; and that he himself, Bhṛigu, " incensed at this insult, would curse " the transgressor, and enemy of the Brahmans, to become a serpent." व्युत्क्रान्तधर्मं तमहं धर्षणामर्षितो भृशम् । अहिर्भवस्वेति रुषा शप्स्ये पापं द्विज-द्रुहम् ॥ All this accordingly happened. " Nahusha, smiling, summoned " Agastya from the banks of the Saraswatī to carry him. Bhṛigu then said " to Maitrāvaruni (Agastya, see above, p. 76, note 30), ' Close thy eyes, " whilst I enter the lock of thy hair.' " Agastya then went to Nahusha, offered himself to be yoked, and agreed to carry the king wherever he pleased. " Nahusha accordingly yoked him. Bhṛigu, who was lodged in " the knot of his hair, was delighted, but did not look at the king. Nahusha " urged Agastya with a goad; but the sage kept his temper. The king " next struck the ṛishi's head with his left foot, when Bhṛigu, invisible " within the knot of hair, became enraged and cursed the wicked Nahusha:

" ' Since thou hast, with thy foot, smitten this great muni, become a ser-
" pent, and fall quickly down to the earth.' He fell accordingly. Had
" Bhrigu," the narrator tells us, " suffered himself to be seen, he could not
" have effected his object," (as Nahusha had the miraculous power of sub-
jecting to himself every one he saw.) Bhṛigu, at Nahusha's request, and the intercession of Agastya, placed a period to the effects of the curse, which Yudhishṭhira was to be the instrument of terminating. अथागस्त्य-मृषिश्रेष्ठं वाहनायाजुहाव ह । द्रुतं सरस्वतीकूलात् स्मयन्निव महाबलः । ततो भृगुर्महातेजा नैत्रावरुणिमब्रवीत् । निमीलयस्व नयने जटां यावद् विशामि ते । स्थाणुभूतस्य तस्याथ जटां प्राविशदच्युतः । भृगुः स सुमहातेजाः पातनाय नृपस्य च । ततः स देवराट् प्राप्तस्तमृषिं वाहनाय वै । ततोऽगस्त्यः सुरपतिं वाक्यमाह विशाम्पते । योजयस्वेति मां क्षिप्रं कस्य देशं वहामि ते । यत्र वक्ष्यसि तत्र त्वां नयिष्यामि सुराधिप । इत्युक्तो नहुषस्तेन योजयाम्रास तं मुनिम् । भृगुस्तस्य जटान्तःस्थो बभूव हृषितो भृशम् । न चापि दर्शनं तस्य चकार स भृगुस्तदा । वरदानप्रभावज्ञो नहुषस्य महात्मनः । न चुकोप तदाऽगस्त्यो युक्तोऽपि नहुषेण वै । तन्तु राजा प्रतोदेन चोदयामास भारत । न चुकोप स धर्मात्मा ततः पादेन देवराट् । अगस्त्यस्य तदा क्रुद्धो वामेनाभ्यहनच्छिरः । तस्मिञ्छिरस्यभिहते स जटान्तर्गतो भृगुः । शशाप बलवत् क्रुद्धो नहुषं पापचेतसम् । यस्मात् पदाऽहनः क्रोधाच्छिरसीमं महामुनिम् । तस्मादाशु महीं गच्छ सर्पो भूत्वा सुदुर्मते । इत्युक्तः स तदा तेन सर्प भूत्वा पपात ह । अदृष्टेनाथ भृगुणा भूतले भरतर्षभ । भृगुं हि यदि सोऽद्रक्ष्यद् नहुषः पृथिवीपते । स न शक्तोऽभविष्यद् वै पातने तस्य तेजसा ॥

Page 81, note 42. The story of the ṛishi Mandapāla is told in the Mahābhārata, Adi Parva, verses 8335 et seqq. He had by his devotion attained the heaven of the Pitṛis; but did not find there the rewards he had expected. Enquiring the reason of this, he was told by the gods, that it was because he had had no son. On this Mandapāla considers how he may obtain the necessary progeny: स चिन्तयन्नभ्यगच्छत् सुबहुप्रसवान् खगान् । शार्ङ्गिकां शार्ङ्गिको भूत्वा जरितां समुपेयिवान् । तस्यां पुत्रानजनयच्चतुरो ब्रह्मवादिनः । तानपास्य च तत्रैव जगाम लपितां प्रति । बालान् सुतानशगतान् सह मात्रा मुनिर्वने । " Reflecting on this he resorted to the very prolific birds. " Becoming a cock-sparrow [?] he consorted with Jaritā a hen-sparrow. On " her he begot four sons, expounders of the Veda. Forsaking these children " in the egg, together with their mother, in the forest, he went to visit " Lapitā."

Page 92, note 74. In the Mahābhārata, Anuśāsana Parva, line 4493, Viśwāmitra thus defines his own name: विश्वे देवाश्च मे मित्रं मित्रमस्मि गवान्नथा । विश्वामित्रमिति ख्यातं यातुधानि निबोध माम् । " The Viśwedevas

" are my friends (*mitram*): I am also the friend of cows: know me, o female " demon, to be Viśwāmitra."

Page 95, note 78. In a story in the Anuśāsana Parva of the Mahābhārata, verses 4416—4540, we find Arundhatī introduced as the companion of the seven Ṛishis, Kaśyapa, Atri, Vaśishṭha, Bharadwāja, Gautama, Viśwāmitra, and Jamadagni; and as taking part in their conversations.

Page 108. In the Mahābhārata, Śalya Parva, verses 2295 et seqq., we have the same legend repeated: तथा च कौशिकस्तात तपोनित्यो जितेन्द्रियः। तपसा वै सुतप्तेन ब्राह्मणत्वमवाप्तवान्। गाधिर्नाम महानासीत् क्षत्रियः प्रथितो भुवि। तस्य पुत्रोऽभवद्राजन् विश्वामित्रः प्रतापवान्। स राजा कौशिकस्तात महायोग्यभवत् किल। स पुत्रमभिषिच्याथ विश्वामित्रं महातपाः। देहन्यासे मनश्चक्रे तमूचुः प्रणताः प्रजाः। न गन्तव्यं महाप्राज्ञ त्वाहि चास्मान् महाभयात्। एवमुक्तः प्रत्युवाच ततो गाधिः प्रजास्ततः। विश्वस्य जगतो गोप्ता भविष्यति सुतो मम। इत्युक्त्वा तु ततो गाधिर्विश्वामित्रं निवेश्य च। जगाम त्रिदिवं राजन् विश्वामित्रोऽभवद् नृपः। न स शक्नोति पृथिवीं यत्नवानपि रक्षितुम्। ततः शुश्राव राजा स राक्षसेभ्यो महाभयम्। निर्ययौ नगराच्चापि चतुरङ्गबलान्वितः। स यात्वा दूरमध्वानं वशिष्ठाश्रममभ्यगात्। तस्य ते सैनिका राजंश्चक्रुस्तत्रालयान् बहून्। ततस्तु भगवान् विप्रो वशिष्ठो ब्रह्मणः सुतः। ददृशेऽथ ततः सर्वं भज्यमानं महावनम्। तस्य क्रुद्धो महाराज वशिष्ठो मुनिसत्तमः। सृजस्व शबरान् घोरान् इति त्वां गामुवाच ह। तथोक्ता साऽसृजद् धेनुः पुरुषान् घोरदर्शनान्। ते च तद्बलमासाद्य बभञ्जुः सर्वतो दिशम्। तच्छ्रुत्वा विद्रुतं सैन्यं विश्वामित्रस्तु गाधिजः। तपः परं मन्यमानस्तपस्येव मनो दधे। सोऽस्मिंस्तीर्थवरे राजन् सरस्वत्याः समाहितः। नियमैश्चोपवासैश्च कर्षयन् देहमात्मनः। जलाहारो वायुभक्षः पर्णाहारश्च सोऽभवत्। तथा स्थण्डिलशायी च ये चान्ये नियमाः पृथक्। असकृत् तस्य देवास्तु व्रतविघ्नं प्रचक्रिरे। न चास्य नियमाद् बुद्धिरपयाति महात्मनः। ततः परेण यत्नेन तप्त्वा बहुविधं तपः। तेजसा भास्कराकारो गाधिजः समपद्यत। तपसा तु तथा युक्तं विश्वामित्रं पितामहः। अमन्यत महातेजा वरदो वरमस्य तत्। स तु वव्रे वरं राजन् स्यामहं ब्राह्मणस्त्विति। तथेति चाब्रवीद् ब्रह्मा सर्वलोकपितामहः। स लब्ध्वा तपसोग्रेण ब्राह्मणत्वं महायशाः। विचचार महीं कृत्स्नां कृतकामः सुरोपमः॥ " Thus the Kauśika, constant in " devotion, and subduing his senses, acquired Brahmanhood by his severe " austerities. There was a great Kshatriya named Gādhi, renowned in the " world, whose son was the glorious Viśwāmitra. Gadhi was a great " devotee (*yōgī*); and he designed, after installing his son as king, to " abandon his body. His subjects submissively said to him, ' Do not go, " o great sage, but deliver us from our fears.' He replied, ' My son shall

" protect the whole world.' Having accordingly installed Viśwāmitra, the " king went to heaven, and was succeeded by his son. Viśwāmitra, how- " ever, though energetic, was unable to protect the earth. He then heard that " there was great cause of apprehension from the Rākshasas, and issued forth " from the city, with his army consisting of all four arms. Having gone a " long journey, he arrived at the hermitage of Vaśishṭha. There his soldiers " constructed many dwellings. In consequence the divine Brahman Va- " śishṭha, son of Brahmā, beheld the whole forest being cut up; and " becoming enraged, he said to his cow, 'Create terrible Śavaras.' The " cow, so addressed, created men of dreadful aspect, who scattered in all " directions the army of Viśwāmitra. Hearing of this, the son of Gādhi " devoted himself to penance. In this sacred spot on the Saraswatī he " macerated his body with acts of self-restraint and fastings, living on " water, air, and leaves, sleeping on the sacrificial ground &c. Several " times the gods threw impediments in his way; but his attention was never " distracted from his observances. Having by these strenuous efforts gone " through manifold austerities, the son of Gādhi became luminous as the " sun; and Brahmā regarded his achievements with admiration. The " boon which Viśwāmitra chose was to become a Brahman; and Brahmā " replied, 'So be it.' Having attained Brahmanhood, the object of his " desire, by his severe penances, he wandered over the whole earth, like a " god."

Note 11, pages 109, 110. This sense of Brahmarshi (viz. Brahman-ṛishi) is confirmed, (if confirmation be wanted,) by the following line of the Mahābhārata, Anuśāsana Parva, 4448, where the word *dwijarshi* is used for *brahmarshi*: पुष्करार्थं कृतं स्तैन्यं पुरा भरतसत्तम । राजर्षिभिर्महाराज तथैव च द्विजर्षिभिः ॥

Page 114, line 5. The Mahābhārata, Śalya Parva, verses 2360 et seqq., has yet one more legend about Viśwāmitra's jealousy of Vaśishṭha: विश्वामित्रस्य विप्रर्षेर्वशिष्ठस्य च भारत । भृशं वैरमभूद्राजंस्तपःस्पर्द्धाकृतं महत् । आश्रमो वै वशिष्ठस्य स्थाणुतीर्थेऽभवद् महान् । पूर्वतः पार्श्वतश्चासीद् विश्वामित्रस्य धीमतः । ..... Verses 2366 et seqq. विश्वामित्रवशिष्ठौ तावहन्यहनि भारत । स्पर्द्धां तपःकृतां तीव्रां चक्रतुस्तौ तपोधनौ । तत्राप्यधिकसन्तप्तो विश्वामित्रो महामुनिः । दृष्ट्वा तेजो वशिष्ठस्य चिन्तामति जगाम ह । तस्य बुद्धिरियं ह्यासीद् धर्मनित्यस्य भारत । इयं सरस्वती तूर्णं मत्समीपं तपोधनम् । आनयिष्यति वेगेन वशिष्ठं जपतां वरम् । इहागतं द्विजश्रेष्ठं हनिष्यामि न संशयः । एवं निश्चित्य भगवान् विश्वामित्रो महामुनिः । ससार सरितां श्रेष्ठां क्रोधसंरक्तलोचनः । सा ध्याता मुनिना तेन व्याकुलत्वं जगाम ह । जज्ञे चैनं महावीर्यं

महाकोपञ्च भाविनी । तत एनं वेपमाना विवर्णा प्राञ्जलिस्तदा । उपतस्थे मुनिवरं विश्वामित्रं सरस्वती । हतवीरा यथा नारी साऽभवद् दुःखिता भृशम् । ब्रूहि किं करवाणीति प्रोवाच मुनिसत्तमम् । तामुवाच मुनिः क्रुद्धो वशिष्ठं शीघ्रमानय । यावदेनं निहन्म्यद्य तच्छ्रुत्वा व्यथिता नदी । प्राञ्जलिन्तु ततः कृत्वा पुण्डरीकनिभेक्षणा । प्राकम्पत भृशं भीता वायुनेवाहता लता । ..... सा तस्य वचनं श्रुत्वा ज्ञात्वा पापचिकीर्षितम् । वशिष्ठस्य प्रभावञ्च जाननप्यप्रतिमं भुवि । साऽधिगम्य वशिष्ठञ्च इममर्थमचोदयत् । यदुक्ता सरितां श्रेष्ठा विश्वामित्रेण धीमता । उभयोः शापयोर्भीता वेपसाना पुनः पुनः । ..... तां कृशाञ्च विवर्णाञ्च दृष्ट्वा चिन्तासमन्विताम् । उवाच राजन् धर्मात्मा वशिष्ठो द्विपदां वरः । वशिष्ठ उवाच । पाह्यात्मानं सरिच्छ्रेष्ठे वह मां शीघ्रगामिति । विश्वामित्रः शपेद्धि त्वां मा कृथास्त्वं विचारणम् । तस्य तद्वचनं श्रुत्वा कृपाशीलस्य सा सरित् । चिन्तयामास कौरव्य किं कृत्वा सुकृतं भवेत् । तस्याश्चिन्ता समुत्पन्ना वशिष्ठो मय्यतीव हि । कृतवान् हि दयां नित्यं तस्य कार्य्यं हितं मया । अथ कूले स्वके राजन् जपन्तमृषिसत्तमम् । नुद्धानं कौशिकं [?] प्रेक्ष्य सरस्वत्यभ्यचिन्तयत् । इदमन्तरमित्येव ततः सा सरितां वरा । कूलापहारमकरोत् स्वेन वेगेन सा सरित् । तेन कूलापहारेण मैत्रावरुणिरौह्यत । उह्यमानः स तुष्टाव तदा राजन् सरस्वतीम् । पितामहस्य सरसः प्रवृत्तासि सरस्वति । व्याप्तञ्चेदं जगत् सर्वं तवैवाम्भोभिरुत्तमैः । त्वमेवाकाशगा देवि मेघेषूत्सृजसे पयः । सर्वाश्चापस्त्वमेवेति त्वत्तो वयमधीमहि । पुष्टिर्द्युतिस्तथा कीर्त्तिः सिद्धिर्बुद्धिरुमा तथा । त्वमेव वाणी स्वाहा त्वं तवायत्तमिदं जगत् । त्वमेव सर्वभूतेषु वससीह चतुर्विधा । ..... तमानीतं सरस्वत्या दृष्ट्वा कोपसमन्वितः । अथान्वेषत् प्रहरणं वशिष्ठान्तकरं तदा । तन्तु क्रुद्धमभिप्रेक्ष्य ब्रह्मवध्याभयाद् नदी । अपोवाह वशिष्ठन्तु प्राचीं दिशमतन्द्रिता । उभयोः कुर्वती वाक्यं वक्तयित्वा च गाधिजम् । ततोऽपवाहितं दृष्ट्वा वशिष्ठमृषिसत्तमम् । अब्रवीद् दुःखसंक्रुद्धो विश्वामित्रो ह्यमर्षणः । यस्मान्मां त्वं सरिच्छ्रेष्ठे वक्तयित्वा पुनर्गता । शोणितं वह कल्याणि रक्षोग्रमणिसम्मतम् । ततः सरस्वती शप्ता विश्वामित्रेण धीमता । अवहच्छोणितोन्मिश्रं तोयं संवत्सरं तदा । ..... अथाजग्मुस्ततो राजन् राक्षसास्तत्र भारत । तत्र ते शोणितं सर्वे पिबन्तः सुखमासते ..... नृत्यन्तश्च हसन्तश्च यथा स्वर्गजितस्तथा । ..... तान् दृष्ट्वा राक्षसान् राजन् मुनयः संशितव्रताः । परित्राणे सरस्वत्याः परं यत्नं प्रचक्रिरे ॥ " There existed a great " enmity, arising from rivalry in their austerities, between Viswāmitra and " the Brahman-ṛishi Vaśishṭha. Vaśishṭha had an extensive hermitage in " Sthāṇutīrtha, to the east of which was Viśwāmitra's. .... These two " great ascetics were every day exhibiting intense jealousy in regard to their " respective austerities. But Viśwāmitra, beholding the might of Vaśishṭha, " was the most chagrined; and fell into deep thought. The idea of this

" sage, constant in duty (!), was the following: 'This river Saraswatī will " speedily bring to me on her current the austere Vaśishṭha, the most " eminent of all mutterers of prayers. When that most excellent Brahman " has come, I shall most assuredly kill him.' Having thus determined, the " divine sage Viśwāmitra, his eyes reddened by anger, meditated upon the " chief of rivers. She being thus the subject of his thoughts, became very " anxious, as she knew him to be very powerful and very irascible. Then " trembling, pallid, and with joined hands, the Saraswatī stood before the " chief of Munis. Like a woman whose husband has been slain, she was " greatly distressed; and said to him, 'What shall I do?' The incensed " Muni replied, 'Bring Vasishṭha hither speedily, that I may slay him.' " The lotus-eyed river, joining her hands, trembled in great fear, like a " tendril agitated by the wind." . . . . Viśwāmitra, however, repeated his command. " The Saraswatī, who knew how sinful was his design, and " that the might of Vaśishṭha was unequalled, went trembling, and in great " dread of being cursed by both the sages, to Vaśishṭha, and told him what " his rival had said. Vaśishṭha seeing her emaciated, pale, and anxious, " spoke thus: 'Deliver thyself, o chief of rivers; carry me unhesitatingly " to Viśwāmitra, lest he curse thee.' Hearing these words of the merciful " sage, the Saraswatī considered how she could act most piously. She " reflected, 'Vaśishṭha has always shown me great kindness; I must seek " his welfare.' Then observing the Kauśika sage [sic in the text; though " the sense requires Vaśishṭha] praying and sacrificing on her brink, she " regarded that as a good opportunity, and swept away the bank by the " force of her current. In this way the son of Mitra and Varuṇa (Vaśish- " ṭha) was carried down; and while he was being borne along, he thus " celebrated the river: 'Thou, o Saraswatī, issuest from the lake of Brahmā, " and pervadest the whole world with thy pure streams. Residing in the " sky, thou dischargest water into the clouds. Thou art all waters. By " thee we study." [Here the river Saraswatī is identified with Saraswatī the goddess of speech.] " . . . 'Thou art nourishment, radiance, fame, per- " fection, intellect, light. Thou art speech; thou art S'wāhā; this world " is subject to thee. Thou, in fourfold form, dwellest in all creatures.' " . . . . Beholding Vaśishṭha brought near by the Saraswatī, Viśwāmitra " searched for a weapon with which to make an end of him. Perceiving his " anger, and dreading lest Brahmanicide should ensue, the river promptly " carried away Vaśishṭha in an easterly direction; thus fulfilling the com- " mands of both sages, but eluding Viśwāmitra. Seeing Vaśishṭha so " carried away, Viśwāmitra, impatient, and enraged by vexation, said to " her; 'Since thou, o chief of rivers, hast eluded me, and hast receded,

" roll in waves of blood acceptable to demons," [which are fabled to gloat on blood]. " The Saraswatī, being thus cursed, flowed for a year in a " stream mingled with blood. . . . . Rākshasas came to the place of pil- " grimage, where Vaśishṭha had been swept away, and revelled in drinking " the bloody stream, dancing and laughing, as if they had conquered " heaven." Some ṛishis who arrived at the spot were horrified to see the blood-stained water, and the Rakshasas quaffing it, and " made the most " strenuous efforts to rescue the Saraswatī." They accordingly propitiated Mahādeva by the most various austerities, and thus obtained the restoration of the river to her pristine purity.

Page 139, line 24. It is not necessary to suppose that Arrian refers here to Buddhists. By *Sophists* he may mean mendicant devotees of the Brahmanical faith, who, in later times, at least, may be of any caste. Whether this was the custom in the centuries prior to the Christian era, I am not at present prepared to say. The context of this passage from the XIIth chapter of the Indica is as follows: Γαμέειν δὲ ἐξ ἑτέρου γένεος οὐ θέμις· οἷον τοῖσι γεωργοῖσιν ἐκ τοῦ δημιουργικοῦ, ἢ ἔμπαλιν· οὐδὲ δύο τέχνας ἐπιτηδεύειν τὸν αὐτὸν, οὐδὲ τοῦτο θέμις· οὐδὲ ἀμείβειν ἐξ ἑτέρου γένεος εἰς ἕτερον· οἷον, γεωργικὸν ἐκ νομέως γενέσθαι, ἢ νομέα ἐκ δημιουργικοῦ. Μοῦνον σφίσιν ἀνεῖται σοφιστὴν ἐκ παντὸς γένεος γενέσθαι, κ. τ. λ. " It is not lawful to intermarry with other castes; as, " e. g. for a man of the agricultural to marry a woman of the artizan caste, " or vice versâ. Nor may the same person practise two occupations. Neither " can any one change from one caste to another; as, e. g. from the agricul- " tural to the pastoral, or from the pastoral to the artizan caste. *It is only* " *permitted that a person of any caste may become a Sophist*, &c."

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## ERRATA.

Page 59, line 7 from the bottom, *for* 41. *read* 42.
Page 101, line 8 from the bottom, *for* that is *read* that it is
Page 168, line 20 from the top, *for* hearing of *read* hearing

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